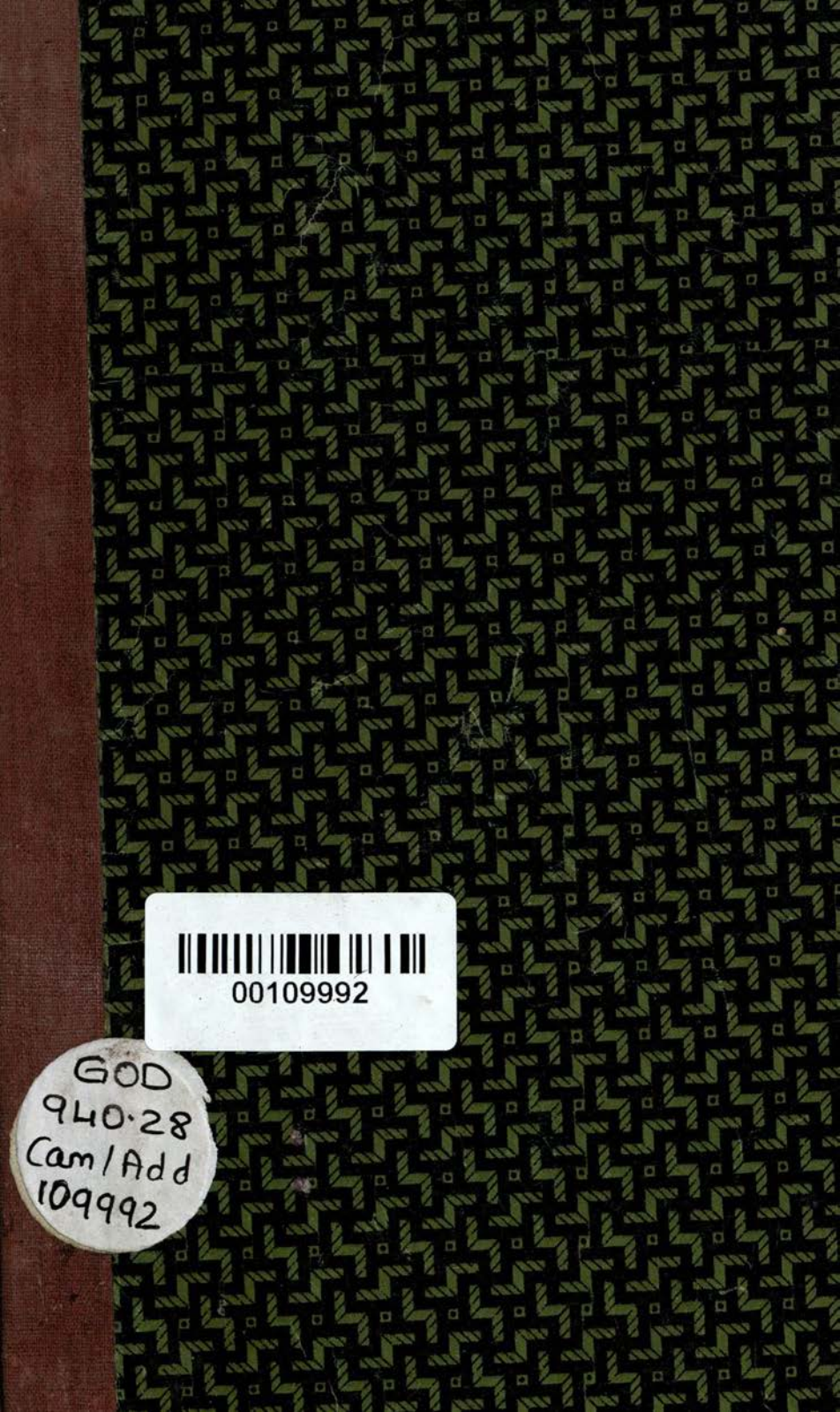
00109992
GOD
940·28
Cam/Add
109992

00109992

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018

AN

ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT,

&c. &c.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

AN

ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT

ON

THE DUTIES OF GREAT BRITAIN

TO

INDIA,

IN RESPECT OF

THE EDUCATION OF THE NATIVES,

AND THEIR OFFICIAL EMPLOYMENT.

109992

BY

CHARLES HAY CAMERON,

LATE FOURTH MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF INDIA,
PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN LAW COMMISSION, AND PRESIDENT OF THE
COUNCIL OF EDUCATION FOR BENGAL.

Nihil separatum clausumve.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
1853.

Bx-d 53

GOD
9L10.28
Cam/Add
109992

AN ADDRESS,

&c. &c.

AN address by a private citizen to the legislature of his country, requires for its justification that its author should be entitled, either by personal qualities or by the accident of position, to ask the attention of those whom he presumes to advise.

The pretensions of our great Milton, whose Areopagitica for the liberty of unlicensed printing is the conspicuous example in the history of this country, were of the loftier and intrinsic sort;—mine are of the humble and accidental. I will begin by showing in what they consist.

In the year 1833, the government of our Indian empire was again entrusted to the East India Company for a period of twenty years; but some considerable changes were made in the organisation of the local government. A Council of India was created, with very ample powers of legislation for the whole Indian empire. A Law Commission was instituted, of which I shall have occasion to

speak hereafter; and a fourth ordinary member was added to the number of councillors who had before composed the old Council of Bengal, now transformed into the Council of India.

I was this fourth ordinary member, from the beginning of 1843 to the beginning of 1848, and it is this appointment which constitutes my first, though not my only title, to address the legislature of my country upon Indian affairs.

The qualification of the fourth ordinary member, and his functions, so far as they differ from those of the other members of Council, are expressed in the statute by negative terms only. The 40th section of the statute says, "that the fourth ordinary member of Council shall, from time to time, be appointed from amongst persons who shall not be servants of the said Company, and that he shall not be entitled to sit or vote in the said Council except at meetings thereof for making laws and regulations."

This negative qualification of not being a servant of the East India Company is quite peculiar to the fourth member of Council, for there is nothing to prevent a Company's servant from being appointed Governor of Madras or Bombay, or even Governor-General of India.

To understand this negative qualification, we must observe, that the legislative power which, before this statute, existed in the Council of Bengal independently of the Supreme Court of Judicature, had a very uncertain foundation, and a very limited sphere.

It did not extend to that supreme court, nor

to the Queen's European subjects, nor to the presidencies of Madras and Bombay.

One consequence of this was, that there was little distinction between the preparation and promulgation of a regulation, as the laws of that day were denominated, and the preparation and promulgation of any executive act of government.

The servants of the East India Company are distinguished, perhaps, beyond all other British functionaries, for their skill in the solution of practical difficulties, for the readiness and fertility with which they devise measures to meet sudden and unforeseen emergencies. But the acquirements and mental habits which have earned them a well-merited reputation of this description, are very different from those required for the business of deliberate and systematic legislation. I conceive, therefore, that when Parliament said the fourth member shall not be a servant of the East India Company, the meaning was that he should be a man who might bring into the Council of India a knowledge of those general principles of jurisprudence, political economy, and government, which are generally supposed to be acquired only by much reading and reflection.

This knowledge of general principles, combined with knowledge of a quite different kind, which can only be supplied by the members of Council who are taken from the Indian services—that is to say, knowledge of the Indian people, and of the multifarious subject-matters to be dealt with—was, I presume, expected to produce, under the superintendence of the Governor-General (a British

statesman of the order from which cabinet ministers are taken), a legislation not destitute of either theoretical or practical merit.

The restriction as to the meetings of Council at which the fourth member should sit and vote, was intended, I presume, for the wise purpose of compelling him to devote all his energies to the business of legislation. But I think it an unwise means to that end, because it deprives him of the advantage which he could not fail to derive, as a legislator, from listening to and taking part in the discussions of the Council on the executive business of government.

My second title is that, as soon as the law commission above mentioned was constituted, I was appointed the member from England, the other members being civil servants of the East India Company. The statute did not enact in respect to the law commission, as it had in respect to the Council of India, that it should contain one member not a Company's servant. But the same consideration which induced the legislature to make that provision for the Council induced, no doubt, the executive authorities at home to organise the law commission as if there had been such a provision in the statute.

The necessity for a law commission in addition to the fourth member of Council, arose out of the extraordinary state of anomaly and confusion into which the jurisprudence of India had fallen.

I will not here enter into details, which must be fully considered when I come to describe the operations of the law commission.

The whole law of India, Hindoo, Mahomedan, and English, both substantive and adjective law, was referred to these commissioners, in order that they might, after having ascertained as far as possible what was the existing law, reduce it into the form of a code or codes, and also recommend such alterations as they might think desirable.

This plan of a law commission for the investigation of the whole subject is incomparably superior to the method practised in England, of setting up a chancery commission, a common-law commission, a criminal-law commission, &c. There must no doubt be a division of labour among the commissioners, whether they belong to one or to several bodies. But in the former plan, the work of each commissioner, or of each sub-committee, is performed with reference to principles settled by the whole body, and is subjected to revision by the whole body.

The members of the Whig government of 1832, who devised this commission, are entitled to the lasting gratitude of the people of India for their beneficent intentions. But unhappily they did not long remain in a position to give the Indian law commission that support which Tribonian and his colleagues received throughout their labours, from the emperor Justinian, and which Cambacérès and his colleagues received in like manner from the emperor Napoleon.

The consequence has been, not that our plans have been rejected, but that they have never been taken into consideration.

Twelve years of study and reflection upon the

jurisprudence of India as member or president of this commission constitute my second title to ask a hearing of Parliament while the affairs of India are still under consideration.

My third and last title is derived from the offices of member and president of the council of education for Bengal.

I was member during the whole twelve years of my stay in India, and president during the last five, after I had become fourth member of Council.

The council of education is a ministry of public instruction; and when we consider the two facts—first, that the natives of India are generally sunk in profound ignorance and superstition; secondly, that they are evidently capable of very high intellectual attainments,—it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of such a ministry, not only to the permanent connection of India with Great Britain, but to the progress of the human race.

In these three capacities, then, as Fourth Member of the Council of India, as President of the Indian Law Commission, and as President of the Council of Education, I lay claim to audience on behalf of the nations of India.

If I am asked why, feeling it my duty to speak, I have kept silence for nearly five years, I can only answer that India is a subject so uncouth to English ears, that he who intends to be listened to, when he speaks of it, must choose one of those "*mollia tempora fandi*" which present themselves only at intervals of twenty years. That periodic time has now once again brought India back into her perihelion. The rights and interests of our

Asiatic fellow-subjects are brought so near for the moment that they look almost as large as our own rights and interests.

This year, 1853, then, is the time for those to break silence who have any thing to ask for India before she begins a new cycle of twenty years, and dwindles into an unnoticed speck in the distance.

I am very far from wishing to depreciate the merits of the East India Company. The sternest critic of their government has pronounced the following commendation upon it: —

"I believe it will be found that the Company, during the period of their sovereignty, have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shown more good will towards them, have shown less of a selfish attachment to mischievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other sovereign existing in the same period, but than all other sovereigns taken together upon the face of the globe."*

I do not hesitate to declare my assent to the correctness of this opinion at the time when its esteemed and lamented author pronounced it.

If I cannot now pronounce the same opinion, if I cannot believe that Mr. Mill would now pronounce the same opinion, it is not because I think that the Company is less enlightened or less benevolent than it was. But because, since the time when the his-

* Mill's History of India, vol. vi. p. 286.

torian thus wrote, the Company has had opportunities of displaying much higher qualities than any which their previous position could have called forth, and because, as I sincerely believe and deeply lament, they are throwing those opportunities away.

My charge against the East India Company admits in them all the merit belonging to prudent and well-disposed administrators of the system established before the year 1843, and is founded entirely upon their apparent unwillingness to adopt a system more in accordance with the higher position which they were then invited by Parliament to assume. I do not accuse them of wanting any of the good qualities which we expect from rulers placed in ordinary circumstances, but only of wanting the loftier and more heroic attributes which would have enabled them to comprehend the illustrious part assigned to them in the history of our country — I may say in the history of mankind — and to have raised themselves, not without self-sacrifice, to the height and dignity of the occasion.

The statute of 1833 made the natives of India eligible to all offices under the Company. But during the twenty years that have since elapsed not one of the natives has been appointed to any office except such as they were eligible to before the statute. It is not, however, of this omission that I should feel justified in complaining, if the Company had shown any disposition to make the natives fit, by the highest European education, for admission to their covenanted service. Their dis-

position, as far as it can be devised, is of the opposite kind.

When four students were sent to London from the Medical College of Calcutta, under the sanction of Lord Hardinge in Council, to complete their professional education, the Court of Directors expressed their dissatisfaction; and when a plan for establishing a university at Calcutta, which had been prepared by the Council of Education, was recommended to their adoption by Lord Hardinge in Council, they answered that the project was premature. As to the law commission, I am afraid that the Court of Directors have been accustomed to think of it only with the intention of procuring its abolition.

These things it will be readily understood were profoundly discouraging to me. But the reflection that I was endeavouring to carry into effect the intentions of Parliament sustained me.

I found myself, then, in the last five years of my Indian career, with one hand upon the lever of legislation, and the other upon the lever of public instruction; and during the seven previous years I had served an apprenticeship in both those great functions, which had given me some confidence in my own judgment.

It was therefore both natural and quite within the line of my duty, that I should endeavour to frame to myself a distinct notion of the social and political condition into which it should be our object to bring our Indian empire, by the combined forces of legislation and public instruction; the

rather, that Lord Hardinge had, at the period I speak of, broken, beyond all possibility of recovery, the power of the last and most formidable rival that has obstructed the British rule, and consequently the progress of civilisation in India.

Lord Ellenborough has said, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons last session:—

"The objection to having a legislative councillor is this, that he always wishes, and it is very natural that he should have that wish, to immortalise his services by making some alteration in the law."

Whether at a future time, when the work of the law commission is accomplished, this may be a valid objection to having a legislative councillor, it is not now worth while to consider. It has hitherto been so far from an objection, that it is the very thing which the legislative member, in combination with the law commission, either as president of that body, or as the person who is called upon to pronounce a judgment upon its propositions, is sent to India to accomplish.

If this is a mistake, it is no mistake of mine, but of the Imperial Parliament.

A mass of evidence was given before the committees in 1832, which seems now to be entirely forgotten; but which proved the law and judicature of British India to be in a state of anomaly and confusion, which, I believe, is wholly unexampled.

To remedy this, the law commission was created as a temporary institution.

To remedy this, and afterwards to keep the current legislation of India in accordance with the

system and the principles which the law commission might establish, the fourth member of Council was created as a permanent institution.

I, therefore, not only felt the wish which Lord Ellenborough describes as natural to my position, but I also felt the accomplishment of that wish, as far as in me lay, to be my imperative duty, to be the very consideration for which I was annually receiving large sums of public money.

Lord Ellenborough, when in India, made an objection to the institution of the fourth member of Council, and to the institution of the law commission, similar in some respects, though not in all, to the one I have just noticed. And a similar objection to the law commission had been previously made by Mr. Amos likewise, who was for about four years president of that body. He was made president upon the occasion, or, at least, at the time, of my refusal to communicate to the Council of India the plans of the law commission in their inchoate and immature condition, in such a manner as would have enabled the Council to put a stop to the projects of the law commission before they had been fortified with all the arguments intended to ensure their adoption, and thus to crush the very germs of law-reform,

"*Cum nondum tepido maturuit hostis in ovo.*"

I replied to these objections of Lord Ellenborough and Mr. Amos at Calcutta, and I need now only quote from those minutes of mine in which, after reciting their objections, I have given what seems to me a complete refutation of them. The minute

in which I replied to Lord Ellenborough is dated March 17th, 1843, and concludes as follows:—

"It remains only that I should consider the opinions of the Governor-General, and I regret to find that they differ much more essentially from mine than those which I have been examining.

"Lord Ellenborough thinks that the Governor-General in Council can want no other legal adviser than the Advocate-General. The answer is, that the fourth member of Council was not intended to be the legal adviser, but the legislative adviser of the Council. It is scarcely necessary that I should explain the difference between the two, or point out how impossible it is for a gentleman, probably in the first practice at the bar, to perform the latter function effectually.

"'The legal member,' the Governor-General says, 'having hardly any thing really to do, will look to the right and left to find the materials of new Acts of the legislature.'

"I answer, that since I have been in Council (about nine months) I have been so fully occupied in considering the legislative projects of others, in endeavouring to improve them, and to shape them according to the general scheme of Indian legislation contemplated by the law commission, and in endeavouring to check the hasty legislation to which there is a tendency in this country, that, so far from looking to the right and left, I have not had time to bring forward a single proposition of my own.

"'All these Acts,' the Governor-General goes on to say, 'will bear about them much of the peculiar English character, not in their provisions alone, but in their details, and in their language; and they will, therefore, be as ill suited as possible to the people to which they are to be applied.'

"'Such is the tendency of a provision which adds to the Council of India a British barrister.'

"'The law commissioners form a sort of standing committee of change. They are to provide materials upon which the legal member of Council is to work; and the object, or at least the tendency of both, is to alter as much as possible in a country in which it is most desirable to leave the long agitated minds of the people at rest, and to satisfy them that under the British government something can be permanent.'

"First, as to the peculiarly English character which it is here supposed will distinguish the legislation of the law commission and the fourth member of Council, it is sufficiently remarkable that those who have judged these functionaries, not *à priori* as the Governor-General has here done, but by their works, have attacked them for the un-English spirit of their legislation.

"I appeal for proof of this to the criticisms on their penal code; on their plan (repeatedly urged upon the government) for associating the people in the administration of justice, without transferring the business of judicature really or nominally from the public magistrate to private and irresponsible persons; lastly, to the criticism of Mr. Acting-Advocate-General Prinsep on their scheme of prescription and limitation, a criticism almost entirely founded upon the abandonment by the law commission of the principles of English jurisprudence. The law commission has replied to Mr. Prinsep's criticism, successfully, as I think. It has not, however, replied by denying its abandonment of English principles of prescription and limitation, but by showing that it has abandoned them in favour of principles of greater simplicity and convenience.

"If any one thinks it worth while to know what the opinion of the law commission really is upon the various parts of the English *corpus juris*, that opinion may be found in its report upon a *lex loci* for British India.

"But the law commission is, according to the Governor-General, a standing committee of change. According to my notions, it is a committee of stability. But I must

explain what I mean by this short expression. I think no reasonable man can look attentively at the legal condition of British India, and not see that there is much that cannot be suffered to continue in its present state. I look upon a certain degree, and a very considerable degree of change, therefore, to be a necessary condition of future stability. India is governed by a nation in a much higher state of civilisation than itself. It is most assuredly the duty of that nation to give to the people of India the institutions best adapted to secure their improvement — material, moral, and intellectual. When that has been done according to the best lights of the present age, stability may reasonably be expected; that is to say, all the stability which can ever be expected in human institutions. But until that has been done, cases will be every now and then emerging (such as the two criminal cases I have mentioned above) which will compel the government to alter its laws in some mode or other, though, for want of a proper organ, it may not be able to reform them systematically.

"I read lately in the newspapers a letter purporting to be written by Marquis Wellesley. I have no right to quote it as his, but I may quote it for the sake of the wisdom contained in it.

"In that letter I remarked this passage: —

"'The maintenance of our army in a constant state of vigour (and of active motion, the foundation of all vigour) is no warlike, but a true pacific policy in India.'

"In like manner, I say, the law commission is no committee of change, but a true committee of stability.

"In the Governor-General's opinion, the object, at least the tendency, of both the fourth member of Council and the law commission, is to alter as much as possible in a country in which it is most desirable to leave the long agitated minds of the people at rest, and to satisfy them that under the British government something can be permanent.

"Now, I do not deny that the legislative member of

Council and the law commission may be employed in the manner here suggested. It is equally true, however, that an army may be employed in wars, and in adding fresh conquests to our already enormous dominions; but should we, therefore, be justified in saying that such is the object, or at least the tendency, of an army maintained in a constant state of vigour?

"If, indeed, any one were to urge that the tendency of a legislative member of Council and of a law commission is perpetual alteration, and that the tendency of an army maintained in a constant state of vigour is to produce wars and conquests, for the sole purpose of inducing the authorities at home to watch and counteract such tendency, I should be disposed to admit both propositions, at least to admit that they contain truth, though not the whole truth. But if these propositions were maintained in such a sense as to yield the practical conclusion that the law commission must be abolished, and the army reduced to a state of inefficiency, then I should feel myself bound to answer that the use of these things was not properly distinguished from the abuse, and that, with the object of preventing war and conquest in the one case, and perpetual change in the other, we should be destroying the great instrument of peace, and the great instrument of stability.

"The Governor-General concludes thus: —

"'To legislate for these provinces according to the last new notion from home, is to distract a country which may most easily be governed as *India*, but which must be lost if we attempt to govern it as England.'

"To govern India as England is indeed a chimerical notion; but, if by governing it as India is meant governing it like a just and vigorous Oriental conqueror, then, though I do not doubt that complete security from foreign aggression and a considerable share of stagnant internal tranquillity might be enjoyed by the people, I cannot refrain from saying that I hope it will never be proclaimed to the world that this is all which Christian and civilised Britain

aspires to do for the myriads of Asiatics over whom she is appointed to rule."

The Minute in which I replied to Mr. Amos is dated March 30th, 1843. The following is the passage I refer to:—

"'I think,' says Mr. Amos, 'that the provision for laying the reports of the commission before Parliament is calculated to work prejudicially. It has a tendency to induce the commissioners to frame their reports rather with a view to English readers, though in point of fact these may be a very small number, than to assist the Indian government.

"In order to assist that government, it would seem a desirable course to frame succinct schemes of such general improvements as the commission felt disposed to recommend, and, in the first instance, to ascertain how far the Indian government was willing to adopt them, and afterwards to complete the details according to the modifications of principle which that government might make; whereas, the notion that the commissioners are writing for an English public tends to make them produce elaborate schemes, which they may even have ground for supposing are contrary to the views and opinions of the Indian government, and to attach disquisitions to their plans which would be unnecessary for enlightening the Indian government, but the composing of which consumes a great deal of their time. The consequence will often be, that the reports may have very little effect in edifying or influencing the authorities in England, and they will be laid aside indefinitely by the government of India.'

"Now, I conceive it to have been clearly the intention of the legislature that the commission should 'produce elaborate schemes,' and it seems to me that the intention was a wise one. It is very probable that the provision for laying the reports before the two houses of Parliament has contributed to the fulfilment of this intention, and in my

judgment it has thus done good. I think that the legislation of India and the judicial system is in a state which requires to be remodelled by means of elaborate schemes, and that this is the justification of the expensive apparatus of a law commission.

"It is only necessary to read the Charter Act, to see that, in framing such schemes as those to which Mr. Amos objects, the Commissioners have not been led astray by the notion that they are writing for an English public, but have been simply obeying the express commands of the legislature. It is, therefore, against those express commands, rather than against a provision which may perhaps have a tendency to produce obedience to them, that Mr. Amos should have directed his censure."

The Fourth Member of Council and President of the Law Commission is not *ex-officio* President of the Council of Education, but the union of those offices in one person has much to recommend it. At any rate, when I found them united in my own person, I was justified, as I have already said, in endeavouring to frame to myself a distinct notion of the social and political condition into which it should be our object to bring our Indian empire.

I was justified in devoting much time to meditation upon the ends, so far as we are permitted to rough-hew them, which might seem most worthy of the greatest of European nations in regard to the greatest of Asiatic dependencies.

Contemplated for such a purpose, India, under the protection of Great Britain, inspires a feeling approaching to awe — a British dependency, with an indigenous literature, which is thought to have received its highest polish from the hand of Kalidasa, about the time when Virgil was performing in the

Georgics the same process with the language of Rome, and was describing our Celtic ancestors as

"Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos"!

No scholar, no man who reverences antiquity, no man who rejoices to recognise in his own mind an inheritance of thought and feeling derived to him through many centuries, and which the stream of time has gradually augmented by successive alluvions, would willingly give his assent to the doctrine that patriotism requires us to prevent the descendants of those who in the first century of our era illustrated the literary court of Vicramaditya, from acquiring all the knowledge that we possess, and from developing under that potent stimulus all the talent or genius which may exist in themselves. And it has been throughout my Indian career, and still is, an unspeakable pleasure to me, to feel that I do my duty to Queen Victoria and to my own country in helping her Asiatic subjects to raise themselves to the level of their European brethren.

Far different and little to be envied must be the feeling of those whose conviction is that the mission of Great Britain in Asia is to stunt the intellectual growth and repress the rising energies of the great and populous nations whom she governs in that quarter of the globe.

Lord Ellenborough, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, last session, thus expressed himself:—

"The Committee must recollect that there are new dangers opening upon us, which it may require all the wisdom of Parliament to meet; there is a strong desire to

extend education amongst the natives. I recollect having had a visit from the late Dwarkanauth Tagore, who was the most intelligent native that ever appeared in this country, and one of the most intelligent in his own country. I had read in the newspaper that morning a speech which Dwarkanauth Tagore had made on the subject of the education of the natives of India; and when he called upon me I said, 'I see you have been making a speech about education;' he said, 'Have they printed it?' I said, 'Yes, they print everything, but you and I know in this room we need not talk as if we were talking for publication, but we may say exactly what we think. You know that if these gentlemen who wish to educate the natives of India were to succeed to the utmost extent of their desire, we should not remain in this country three months;' and he said, 'Not three weeks;' and perfectly true was his judgment. Now, those endeavours are made not only to educate the natives, and to give them European knowledge to which must attach power, and to give them European ideas, but at the same time to raise them in the civil service, for it is now proposed to give them covenanted situations, and practically hereafter to delegate to them almost the whole of the civil government of the country; and it is proposed to do this at a time when it is proposed to educate the native population, and at a time when the natives are put in possession of the great civil offices, and at a time when the press, and increasing railways and electric telegraphs will enable them to communicate and co-operate; how is it then possible that we can, under our present most defective, or indeed, under any institution, retain our hold over that country? It is contrary to all reason. No intelligent people would submit to our government."

Notwithstanding my strong antipathy to this doctrine, I sincerely give Lord Ellenborough credit for desiring the true honour of his own country. But

if such is his aspiration, he will rejoice with me if I can show that his opinion regarding her relation to India is totally destitute of foundation.

I do not say that to govern the Indian nations as they now are would be an unworthy object of ambition; but I do say, most decidedly, that to govern them as they now are, with the deliberate intention of keeping them down to that point, with a set purpose of preventing their further advance in civilisation, is a most unworthy object of ambition for a great man—or for a great nation. It is at any rate a scheme to which I never would have been a party.

To develop to the utmost the good qualities with which Providence may have endowed them, or, more properly, to enable them to develop those qualities to the utmost, is the true object of Great Britain, and it is one which may be proclaimed without reserve to the nations of Asia, and to the nations of Europe.

In the pursuit of this object the first step naturally is to consult history, and the first example of an Asiatic empire having a civilised nation at its head is that of Alexander the Great.

His military system in his Asiatic dominions bore a striking resemblance to our own. "As the ingenuity of mankind," says Robertson, "naturally has recourse in similar situations to the same expedients, the European powers who now, in their Indian territories, employ numerous bodies of the natives in their service, have, in forming the establishment of these troops, adopted the same maxims" (the historian has just been speaking of the plan of

giving European discipline and European officers to native soldiers), "and probably, without knowing it, have modelled their battalions of sepoys upon the same principles as Alexander did his phalanx of Persians."

The general policy of Alexander is described by Robertson, on the authority of Arrian, Strabo, and Plutarch, as follows:—

"When Alexander became master of the Persian empire, he early perceived that, with all the power of his hereditary dominions, reinforced by the troops which the ascendant he had acquired over the various states of Greece might enable him to raise there, he could not hope to retain in subjection territories so extensive and populous; that to render his authority secure and permanent, it must be established in the affections of the nations which he had subdued, and maintained by their arms; and that, in order to acquire this advantage, all distinctions between the victors and vanquished must be abolished, and his European and Asiatic subjects must be incorporated and become one people by obeying the same laws and by adopting the same manners, institutions, and discipline.

* * * * *

"Soon after the victory at Arbela, Alexander himself, and, by his persuasion, many of his officers, assumed the Persian dress, and conformed to several of their customs. At the same time he encouraged the Persian nobles to imitate the manners of the Macedonians, to learn the Greek language, and to acquire a relish for the beauties of the elegant writers in that tongue, which were then universally studied and admired. In order to render the union more complete he resolved to marry one of the daughters of Darius, and chose wives for a hundred of his principal officers in the most illustrious Persian families.

"Their nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and festivity, and with high exultation of the conquered people. In imitation of them, above ten thousand Macedonians of inferior rank married Persian women, to each of whom Alexander gave nuptial presents as a testimony of his approbation of their conduct."

This policy of Alexander was, as every body knows, eminently successful; but, in looking at an historical example with the view of drawing from it instruction for our own practical guidance, it is quite essential to bear in mind the difference of the circumstances.

The distinctions between the Macedonians and Persians of Alexander's day were few and trifling compared with those which separate the British race from the nations who now inhabit the peninsula of India. The distinctions between these latter are, besides, so deeply rooted in the feelings of each people, that such an amalgamation as Alexander contemplated would not be an object of desire to either of them. Alexander himself would assuredly have perceived that to attempt such an amalgamation would not have conduced to the great and beneficent object he had in view.

But even if the two cases had been less dissimilar, I should not myself have recommended imitation in this particular.

Experience acquired since the time of the Macedonian conquests has, I think, shown that the diversity of races, except in so far as it engenders hatred and desire of war and rapine, is a signal advantage to the progress of mankind.

What we ought to copy, then, from the great

Macedonian king, is not the particular measures by which he proposed to make his Greeks and Persians coherent parts of one united empire, but the generous philanthropic spirit, the imperial equity, with which he divided his favour and his protection between them; so copying them, we may expect to create that feeling in the governed which corresponds to imperial equity in the governors, — imperial feeling it might be called simply, as holding nations together under one head, in analogy to the phrase national feeling, for that to which a single nation owes its cohesion.

The remarkable success of Alexander's system is thus described by Robertson, after he has been speculating on the probable result of another expedition to India which that most philanthropic of conquerors had projected: —

"But this and other splendid schemes were terminated at once by his untimely death. In consequence of that, however, events took place which illustrate and confirm the justness of the preceding speculations and conjectures by evidence the most striking and satisfactory. When that great empire, which the superior genius of Alexander had kept united and in subjection, no longer felt his superintending control, it broke into pieces, and its various provinces were seized by his principal officers and parcelled out among them. From ambition, emulation, and personal animosity, they soon turned their arms against one another, and as several of the leaders were equally eminent for political abilities and for military skill, the contest was maintained long and carried on with frequent vicissitudes of fortune. Amidst the various convulsions and revolu-

tions which these occasioned, it was found that the measures of Alexander for the preservation of his conquests had been concerted with such sagacity that, upon the final restoration of tranquillity, the Macedonian dominion continued to be established in every part of Asia, and not one province had shaken off the yoke. Even India, the most remote of Alexander's conquests, quietly submitted to Pytho, the son of Agenor, and afterwards to Seleucus, who successively obtained dominion over that part of Asia.

"Porus and Taxiles, notwithstanding the death of their benefactor, neither declined submission to the authority of the Macedonians, nor made any attempt to recover their independence."

It seems scarcely possible to doubt that the Macedonian empire would never have been destroyed by the revolt of the various nations composing it, if its great founder had lived to old age, and had transmitted his sceptre and the maxims of his government as an inheritance to a long line of successors.

It happens that these conditions were fulfilled in the second example, and the only other one analogous to our Indian dominion, which history presents for our instruction. I am speaking, of course, of the Roman empire, and to show in what forms the imperial equity of that famous people displayed itself, and how the corresponding imperial feeling was generated throughout the whole extent and variety of the races which looked up to Rome or Constantinople, I shall borrow the words of Gibbon, as I have borrowed the words of Robertson in the case of Alexander the Great.

There are two reasons which make this course

desirable: first, the summing up of all the scattered evidence to be collected from a number of classical authorities will come with much more effect from men who devoted their lives to learning than from one who, like myself, has only been able to snatch here and there scraps of it in the intervals of business; secondly, Robertson and Gibbon summed up the evidence with no object in view beyond historical truth, while I am looking at the ulterior object of drawing from historical truth an example for the guidance of my own country in her relations with India; and as I have passed twelve of the best years of my life in endeavouring to improve the condition of her people, an imputation of some partiality in their favour would neither be felt by me as an affront, nor cast a stain upon my reputation in the eyes of my countrymen. Gibbon commences the second chapter of his great work, entitled "Of the Union and internal Prosperity of the Roman Empire in the Age of the Antonines," in the following words: —

"It is not alone by the rapidity or extent of conquest that we should estimate the greatness of Rome. The sovereign of the Russian deserts commands a larger portion of the globe. In the seventh summer after his passage of the Hellespont, Alexander erected the Macedonian trophies on the banks of the Hyphasis. Within less than a century the irresistible Zingis and the Mogul princes of his race spread their cruel devastations and transient empire from the sea of China to the confines of Egypt and Germany. But the firm edifice of Roman power was raised and preserved by the wisdom of ages. The obedient provinces of Trajan and the Antonines were united by laws, and

adorned by arts. They might occasionally suffer from the partial abuse of delegated authority; but the general principle of government was wise, simple, and beneficent. They enjoyed the religion of their ancestors, whilst in civil honours and advantages they were exalted by just degrees to an equality with their conquerors."

For the sake of clearness in applying what Gibbon says of the Roman policy to the case of British India, it is proper to observe, that the equality of the provincials with the people of the imperial city which he here speaks of relates as well to public functions at Rome as in the provinces; but it is in respect to the latter only that I apply what he says to British India.

There is nothing that I know of, unless it be religious belief, to prevent a native of India from holding any office in England, or from becoming a member of the British Parliament. But the natives of India do not at present desire these distinctions.

Perhaps they will not desire them for a long time to come. They do ardently desire to exercise public functions in their own country, and to receive such a European education as may fit them for that purpose. Since the statute 3 & 4 William IV. c. 85., there is no legal impediment to their wishes. But practically they are admitted only to the uncovenanted service, and excluded from the covenanted service, of the East India Company. Without going into tedious details to show the distinction between those offices which are accessible to the uncovenanted service, and those which are reserved for the covenanted service,

it is quite sufficient to observe for the present purpose, that the latter offices are all those which are objects of desire to such Englishmen as through ties of blood, or of friendship, have interest enough with the Court of Directors to obtain the necessary passport to them.

Gibbon goes on to describe the condition of the several classes of the people under the empire; and having adverted to the circumstance that the value of admission to Roman citizenship was continually diminishing by the increasing liberality of the Emperors, he adds —

"Yet even in the age of the Antonines, when the freedom of the city had been bestowed on the greater number of their subjects, it was still accompanied with very solid advantages. The bulk of the people acquired with that title the benefit of the Roman laws, particularly in the interesting articles of marriage, testaments, and inheritances; and the road of fortune was open to those whose pretensions were seconded by favour or merit. The grandsons of the Gauls who had besieged Julius Cæsar in Alesia, commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the senate of Rome. Their ambition, instead of disturbing the tranquillity of the state, was intimately connected with its safety and greatness.

"So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that it was their most serious care to extend, with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue. The ancient dialects of Italy, the Sabine, the Etruscan, and the Venetian, sunk into oblivion; but in the provinces the East was less docile than the West to the voice of its victorious preceptors. This obvious difference marked the two portions of the empire with a distinction of colours, which, though in some degree

concealed during the meridian splendour of prosperity, became gradually more visible as the shades of night descended upon the Roman world. The western countries were civilised by the same hands which subdued them. As soon as the barbarians were reconciled to obedience, their minds were opened to any new impressions of knowledge and politeness. The language of Virgil and Cicero, though with some inevitable mixture of corruption, was so universally adopted in Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Pannonia, that the faint traces of the Punic or Celtic idioms were preserved only in the mountains, or among the peasants. Education and study insensibly inspired the natives of those countries with the sentiments of Romans; and Italy gave fashions as well as laws to her Latin provincials. They solicited with more ardour and obtained with more facility the freedom and honours of the state; supported the national dignity in letters, and in arms; and at length, in the person of Trajan, produced an emperor whom the Scipios would not have disowned for their countryman."

Such are the general terms in which the historian describes the system of the Romans, a people whose genius for the government of nations, whose power of substituting one imperial feeling for the hundred national feelings originally animating the various races whom they ruled, has never been equalled, and can never be surpassed.

We may equal them, though we cannot surpass them, in the successful creation of an imperial feeling in the Indian races, if we follow their illustrious example. What is more, we may avoid, by following that example critically instead of indiscriminately, the extinction of the several national feelings of India, or rather we may in that manner give vigour

to those now languid national feelings, so as to produce the emulation which is essential to mental activity, without impairing the imperial feeling which is wanted to complete the prosperity of India as a whole.

That the universal prevalence of such an imperial feeling in the Roman dominions was the result of the Roman policy, is shown by the same impartial, laborious, and discriminating witness, in the following passage of the chapter from which I have already quoted:—

"Domestic peace and union were the natural consequences of the moderate and comprehensive policy embraced by the Romans. If we turn our eyes towards the monarchies of Asia, we shall behold despotism in the centre, and weakness in the extremities; the collection of the revenue or the administration of justice enforced by the presence of an army; hostile barbarians established in the heart of the country; hereditary satraps usurping the dominion of the provinces; and subjects inclined to rebellion, though incapable of freedom. But the obedience of the Roman world was uniform, voluntary, and permanent. The vanquished nations, blended into one great people, resigned the hope, nay, even the wish, of resuming their independence, and scarcely considered their existence as distinct from the existence of Rome. The established authority of the emperors pervaded without an effort the wide extent of their dominions, and was exercised with the same facility on the banks of the Thames, or of the Nile, as on those of the Tiber. The legions were destined to serve against the public enemy, and the civil magistrate seldom required the aid of a military force."

Again, at the close of his 38th chapter, under

the head "General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West," Gibbon says,—

"The empire of Rome was firmly established by the singular and perfect coalition of its members. The subject nations, resigning the hope and even the wish of independence, embraced the character of Roman citizens, and the provinces of the West were reluctantly torn by the barbarians from the bosom of their mother country."

The historian, studious of a reputation for rigorous accuracy, adds the following note:—

"The prudent reader will determine how far this general proposition is weakened by the revolt of the Isaurians, the independence of Britain and Armorica, the Moorish tribes, or the Bagaudæ of Gaul and Spain."

The prudent reader will, I think, find upon examination, that the general proposition in the text, with reference to the purpose for which I have adduced it, is not in the smallest degree weakened by the instances in the note.

The Moorish tribes and the Isaurians were rude people, who maintained a precarious independence in their mountain fastnesses. The Bagaudæ were not a nation or tribe at all. They were the peasant serfs of Gaul and Spain, who rose in arms, not against the Roman empire, but against their masters, the land-holders of their country. Their insurrection was analogous to those of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade in modern England, and to the jacqueries of modern France. The separation of Britain and Armorica from the empire was, indeed, the work of populous and civilised nations, and would really form an exception to the general pro-

position asserted by Gibbon, if it had sprung from any hostility to Rome. But the cause of it was that the Roman legions had, in the distress of the empire, been withdrawn from these countries; who, thus thrown involuntarily upon their own resources, proclaimed their independence, and defended themselves as well as they could against their barbarian invaders. The Emperor Honorius, whose misfortunes had obliged him to withdraw the protection of his troops from these portions of his dominions, offered no resistance to the independence which they, in consequence, declared. On the contrary, he at once confirmed it by letters, in which he committed to them the care of their own safety.

Now, considering the immense number and the immense variety of the nations who constituted the Roman empire, the history of that empire furnishes a body of experimental evidence in favour of giving a high English education to our Indian subjects, and of opening to them a career of indefinite advancement in every line, more ample perhaps than can be adduced in favour of any other proposition in the art of government.

And there is absolutely in the history of the world no experience on the other side. The cases of Mexico and Peru are on my side as far as they go, because they are instances of semi-civilised nations repudiating their connection with a more advanced imperial head, in consequence of the narrow and selfish spirit in which they were ruled. But I do not consider these cases of much real importance to the question, because the revolt of Mexico and Peru was brought about by the discontent of the

Spanish colonists, rather than by that of the indigenous populations.

Before that complete consolidation of the Roman empire described by Gibbon, and before the successive reigns of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, had fixed in the minds of the provincials the image of that grand and beneficent civilisation to which they ever after looked up with reverential attachment, events occurred in the provinces of Gaul which are well worth the attention of any British statesman who is considering in what way his country ought to treat her Asiatic subjects. The grandsons of those Gauls who had besieged Julius Cæsar in Alesia, and whom the Romans, as we have seen, had placed in the command of legions and the government of provinces, had an opportunity of deciding whether they would sacrifice those solid benefits for the chance of what might fall to the share of each of them, if they should succeed in making Gaul independent of Rome.

We are fortunate enough to have Tacitus for our authority on this subject. The contest between Vitellius and Vespasian had thrown the empire into extreme disorder. In the fury of civil discord, the capitol, the seat of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, had been burnt to the ground.

"*Id facinus* (says the historian) *post conditam urbem luctuosissimum fœdissimumque republicæ populi Romani accidit.*" *

* "This was the saddest and foulest injury which the Republic of the Roman people had sustained since the building of the city."

The Batavian leader Civilis was already prepared to wage war upon Rome, when the news that the emperor Vitellius had been dragged to an ignominious death became known throughout the Gallic and Germanic states. Civilis then broke out into open hostility. The Vitellian legions preferred even foreign servitude to the government of Vespasian. The Druids, and all those Gauls who, under the influence of the Druids, looked with dislike or abhorrence upon the connection with Rome, were thrown into violent agitation. False reports flew about that the Romans were attacked on all sides by Sarmatæ, by Dacians, by Britons. But the burning of the capitol produced the greatest excitement. The Druids went about prophesying. The city, they said, had formerly been taken by the Gauls, but the empire remained unshaken, because the fane of Jupiter had not been violated. Now, a fatal sign of anger from heaven was given, portending that the dominion of human affairs was passing from Rome to the Transalpine nations. It was rumoured that the Gallic chiefs who had been sent by Otho against Vitellius, had agreed with each other before they separated that they would declare for independence, if continued internal dissensions should break the power of the Roman people.

Civilis seized the opportunity, which was afforded by the murder of the Roman general Hordeonius Flaccus, to enter into alliance with the Gallic chiefs Classicus, Julius Tutor, and Julius Sabinus. These men and their adherents held a meeting at Colonia Agrippinensis (Cologne), where they proclaimed that the Roman people were brought by

their own discord to the brink of ruin; that the Roman armies were fully occupied, each with its own defence; that the Gallic nations, if they did but guard the passes of the Alps, might feel secure of their emancipation, and consider at leisure about the limits of their future empire.

Julius Sabinus, having destroyed the monuments of the Roman alliance, and caused himself to be saluted Cæsar, fell with a great and undisciplined rabble of his countrymen, the Lingones, upon the neighbouring Sequani, who had remained faithful to Rome. A battle ensued, in which Sabinus and his Lingones were totally defeated.

I hope, and I believe, that our country will never be afflicted by civil discord, such as that which inflamed the imagination and stimulated the ambition of the more unquiet and fanatical portion of the Gallic tribes in this ill-advised movement against the Roman empire. But should such calamities ever fall upon us, the narrative of Tăcitus—if we substitute Affghans and Seikhs for the German and Batavian; Mahrattas, Rajpoots, Moguls, and Patans, for the Gallic nations; and for Druids, Hindoo and Mahomedan prophets and fanatics—would read like a very probable account of what might ensue in our Asiatic dominions.

The victory which turned the tide in favour of Rome was, we may observe, a victory gained, not by Romans, but by Romanised Gauls. The effect of it was that more moderate counsels began to prevail. The Remi were the tribe who took the lead in this pacific movement. They invited all the Gallic states to send envoys, who might consult in common whether they should declare for inde-

pendence or for peace. Roman legions were approaching from Italy, from Britain, and from Spain, when the congress of the Gallic states met at the capital city of the Remi (the modern Rheims) to debate the all-important question, whether they should remain in the well-ordered condition of a Roman province, or grasp at the distracted independence and insecure grandeur of a Gallic empire.

In reading the account which Tacitus gives of the discussion and its result, we must bear in mind, if we wish to derive instruction from the example, that the leaders of the Gauls had been emancipated from the druidical superstitions, and imbued with Roman letters and philosophy; and that, by a senatus-consultum of the Emperor Claudius, they had been made eligible to all public employments equally with the Romans themselves. This senatus-consultum was not theoretically different from the 87th section of the British statute which has regulated the government of India for the last twenty years. But the Emperor caused the speech, in which he recommended it to the senate, to be engraved on a brazen tablet, and set up in the city of Lugdunum, now Lyons, where a fragment of it has been found in modern times. This step shows that the senatus-consultum was intended to be acted upon; and that it was acted upon fairly and liberally is made evident by the speech which, according to the report of Tacitus, the Roman General Cerealis addressed, after the decision of the congress, to those Gallic tribes who had been most eager for the disruption of the empire.

Tacitus describes very concisely the speeches at the congress of Tullius Valentinus, a vehement promoter of the war, and of Julius Auspex, a chief of the Remi, who argued on the opposite side.

Valentinus, in a premeditated oration, poured forth all the topics usually urged against extensive empires, together with every thing injurious and invidious against the Roman people. Auspex answered by insisting upon the power of Rome and the blessings of peace. It ended, says the historian, by the assembly praising the spirit of Valentinus, but following the advice of Auspex.

Immediately afterwards he specifies the following among the causes which produced this decision. I must give his own words: —

"*Deterruit plerosque provinciarum æmulatio: quod bello caput? unde jus auspiciumque peteretur? quam, si cuncta provenissent, sedem imperio legerent? Nondum victoria, jam discordia erat, aliis fœdera, quibusdam opes viresque aut vetustatem originis, per jurgia jactantibus. Tædio futurorum præsentia placuere.*"*

Now, if these Gallic chiefs had been such as their grandfathers were when they besieged Julius Cæsar, instead of being in civilisation and philosophy on a level with the public men of Rome,

* "Many were alarmed at the rivalry among the provinces. Who was to be the head of the war? Where were they to look for the supreme authority? What seat of empire, if all went well, should they select? There was no victory yet, but already there was discord; some insisting with angry vituperation upon their treaties, others upon their wealth and power, or the antiquity of their origin. The lowering future reconciled them to the present."

would they have been so ready to follow the advice of Auspex while they applauded the spirit of Valentinus? Would the excitement produced in their rude and superstitious minds, by such stimulants as the furious harangue of Valentinus and the songs and prophecies of the Druids, have been so easily allayed by telescopic speculations into the uncertainties of the future?

And again, if the Roman government had treated the senatus-consultum of Claudius as a dead letter, had taken no step and made no preparation for carrying it into effect, and had even refused such a complete Roman education to the Gauls as would have fitted them for the enjoyment of its privileges, what an irresistible topic would this have been in the mouths of bards and orators!

Valentinus, we are told, said every thing that could be urged against large empires and against the Roman people. But if he could have said that the consequence of the Gauls submitting to be a part of the large empire established by that Roman people was that all the high offices in the Gallic states, all the offices which the Romans thought worth occupying themselves, and which would, under the proposed Gallic empire, become the portion of his hearers, were withheld from them, apparently for ever, by the jealousy or the avarice of their masters; if he could have said this, he would have described a present state of things which could hardly have seemed pleasing to a congress of Gauls even in comparison with the most lowering future.

The wise and liberal policy of the Romans had

deprived him of this most effective topic, and had made the government of foreigners in this respect as congenial as that of natives. And accordingly Cerealis, in the conciliatory speech made soon afterwards to those Gallic states which had been most active against Rome, was able to remind them of the advantages they must have sacrificed, in these memorable words: —

"*Ipsi plerumque legionibus nostris præsidetis, ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis. Nihil separatum clausumve.*" * (See Tacitus, 3rd and 4th books of the History.)

The consequence of this truly imperial policy was, that Gaul remained a part of the empire for four hundred years, and, as far as we can see, would have remained so to this day, had not foreign invasion destroyed the empire itself.

I have thought it well worth while to give the details of this remarkable case, because we have them from one of the greatest of historians, and because it is difficult to resist the conviction that something very like the main features of the story might occur in Hindostan, if the British people, instead of being united in loyal attachment to their Sovereign, were split into furious factions, supporting rival claimants to her crown.

But one single case, however apposite, can hardly ever be taken as a practical guide in the vast complexity of human affairs.

It is only on the number and variety, as I have

* "Yourselves command our legions. Yourselves govern these and other provinces. There is nothing separate nor exclusive."

already remarked, of that long series of experiments which the empire of Rome exhibited to the world that we can safely rely. Those experiments are surely numerous enough, and various enough, to give us, in the absence of contrary instances, as much assurance as a statesman should require to decide his choice between two opposite systems of policy.

By imitating, then, the imperial equity which enabled Rome so long to rule the willing nations from the wall of Antoninus to the banks of the Euphrates, we may be sufficiently certain of creating the same sort of feeling, whatever it was, which cemented that multitude of nations into one empire. Nay, if we can but bring ourselves to imitate Roman wisdom, we may have many reasons to expect that the task to be accomplished by us will be a great deal easier, and that our success in the performance of it will be, if possible, more complete than theirs.

The Romans deserve, it is true, to be taken as a model for any people on whom Providence has cast the imperial function, because they did not hesitate to mete out to the subject races the same measure of protection and privilege as they enjoyed themselves. But morality, public and private, has made immense progress since the days of the empire; Christianity has brought nearer to perfection its fruits of gentleness, purity, and self-denial; so that to be governed upon British principles, if we can but raise ourselves to make this imperial equity one of them, would be a far more valuable boon to India than to be governed upon Roman principles can have ever been to any people of Europe, Asia,

or Africa. But here I must explain what I mean by government upon British principles, supposing the imperial equity, already sanctioned by statute, to be adopted as one of them in practice.

That principle does not require that every part of an empire should have the same political constitution. No rational principle could require such an arrangement. All that imperial equity does require is, that (each part of the empire having that political constitution which is best suited to all its circumstances) no subject of the empire should be treated with less favour in any part of it than any other subject, "by reason only" (I borrow the words of the statute now about to expire) "of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them."

In the Roman empire, the question about the political constitution of the several parts did not arise, because every country which it comprised was governed despotically, and without any political securities; but in the British empire the question does arise, and forces itself upon the attention, because Great Britain herself has a constitution of such singular merit that the most advanced nations of Europe have taken it for their model, while the British race in the United States of America have made no other changes in it than such as have been suggested by the differences of their social and political position.

This famous constitution is wholly unfit for the Indian nations, and I acknowledge that I should think it unnecessary to their welfare if it were much less unfit for them than it is. My own opinion is,

that the best government for India, at least in her present condition, is a despotic government; and that the inhabitants of that country, European as well as Asiatic, should derive the assurance which they ought to possess against the abuse of the powers of government, not from any political privileges exercised by themselves; but, first, from the fact that none are admitted to the highest offices in the country but those who (whatever may be their origin) have received the moral and intellectual training of British functionaries; secondly, from the fact that all the proceedings of the Indian governments are submitted in detail to the criticism and correction of authorities in England; and lastly, from the fact that those authorities are responsible to the British Parliament. In this way, as it seems to me, the advantages of despotic and of constitutional government are united, while the disadvantages of both are avoided in a remarkable degree. For an Anglo-Saxon population such a scheme would not perhaps be successful, however good the government resulting from it. For that race appears to affect self-government even more than good government. But for the indigenous races of India, the few Anglo-Saxons who go there to employ capital and to return, and the small colonies of Anglo-Saxons which will perhaps settle in the temperate climates of the hill countries, I believe that such a scheme of administration is, at the present time, much the best that could be devised. I incline to think that such a scheme will always be the best. For it is no stationary system; on the contrary, it is one which will go on, conti-

nually reflecting all the successive improvements of the constitutional and progressive system, from which its principles of administration are derived, and to which they must conform.

The government of India is a government of British statesmen, who have the same education as other British statesmen in political economy, jurisprudence, and the other sciences which minister to the art of government; who are not habitually deflected from their proper course by any party considerations, nor hindered in their attempts at doing justice to all classes; who are in a position not only to feel with perfect impartiality, but to act with perfect impartiality, towards all the various interests for which they legislate. Hindoo and Mahomedan, Catholic and Protestant, agriculturist, manufacturer, and merchant, are all weighed in equal scales by the government of India. Of course, I am not claiming infallibility or impeccability for that government. I am only pointing out that its course is not affected by the disturbing cause of party spirit, or the preponderance which one interest may happen to have over another in a popular assembly.

By those who know me I shall certainly not be looked upon as a lukewarm admirer of constitutional government. But I request those who do not know me to observe, that I attribute the merit of the Indian despotism to the nourishment which it draws from its British stock. It is a despotism grafted on a parliamentary constitution. Those who administer it are educated as men are educated for the exercise of constitutional func-

tions, and are responsible to a parliament. I do not dispute that the Indian despotism would soon degenerate into a tyranny, if its functionaries ceased to be so educated, and to be so responsible.

I remember that M. de la Gréné, who came to Calcutta on his return from the French embassy in China, expressed to me his surprise at seeing a despotism co-existing with a free press. I explained to him the unusual phenomenon, by pointing out that the Governor-General of India in Council is an assembly of despots acting upon constitutional maxims, and with constitutional habits, and therefore ruling, or at least intending to rule, in the interests of the people. Despots who act in that manner may rejoice in fair criticism, and may despise unfair criticism of their measures. I have no doubt that the present government of M. de la Gréné's own country might tolerate a free press with perfect safety, if France were, as she once was, and as England once was, a province of Rome, and if there existed at Rome a senate equal in political morality to the Parliament of Great Britain.

But at Rome, when Gaul and Britain acknowledged her sway, there existed no such constitutional security. Every thing depended on the personal character of the Emperor.

Another quotation from Gibbon will best illustrate my present topic.

Towards the end of his third chapter he says,—

"If a man were called to fix a period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would without hesitation name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian

to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power under the guidance of virtue and wisdom."

Then, having shown how this happiness was produced by the conduct of the Emperors Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, he thus indicates its precarious nature: —

"The labours of these monarchs," he remarks, "were overpaid by the immense reward that inseparably waited on their success, by the honest pride of virtue, and by the exquisite delight of beholding the general happiness of which they were the authors. A just but melancholy reflection embittered, however, the noblest of human enjoyments. They must often have recollected the instability of a happiness which depended on the character of a single man. The fatal moment was perhaps approaching when some licentious youth, or some jealous tyrant, would abuse, to their destruction, that absolute power which they had exerted for the benefit of their people. The ideal restraints of the senate and the laws might serve to display the virtues, but could never correct the vices, of the Emperor."

The difference, then, between the benefit which Rome was able to bestow on her provinces, and that which Great Britain offers to India (besides the marked superiority of British over Roman morality), consists in this, that the prosperity of India, so long as it is British, depends for its continuance and advancement, not upon the slender thread of an emperor's life, but upon the stability of that far-famed constitution, that ancient and constantly improving combination of laws, maxims, and habits, which, having for ages given security and

happiness to the foremost nation of all Europe, is destined, as I trust and believe, to make the people of her immense dependencies the foremost of all Asia.

It is perfectly reasonable, therefore, to expect that the contentment of the Indian races with their position as parts of the British empire, will be by so much stronger and deeper than the corresponding feeling of the provincials under the Roman empire, by how much the benefits of that position are more valuable and less precarious.

I have thus proved that it will be easier for us to imitate the Roman people in generating among our Eastern subjects the feeling which corresponds to imperial equity, than it was for Rome to set the example. But I can strengthen the proof by adducing the very remarkable peculiarities of the Indian races.

I believe that no people was ever governed by Rome, indeed that no people ever existed on the face of earth, to whom the imperial rule of a foreign nation has been, as such, so little distasteful as it is to the inhabitants of India.

Among the Hindoos, and the aboriginal races who have imbibed Hindoo principles, the system of caste must have prevented the growth of that predilection which elsewhere commonly arises in men's minds in favour of a national government. That singular system was calculated to engender a complete indifference, in the subject multitude, as to who might be exercising over them the powers of government: provided only that the persons placed in that position confined themselves within those

limits which are recognised in the system itself. The maxim "*Cuilibet in sua arte credendum*" was carried to an unheard-of extent in a pure Hindoo community. Every one entrusted the care of public affairs to the hereditary Chetrya, just as he entrusted the care of his beard to the hereditary barber.

Probably, when foreign conquest came, the subject castes, brought up in those principles, would not feel that any injury had been done to themselves; though they might have admitted that the governing caste had been injuriously thrust out, and had, consequently, just ground of complaint against the foreign conqueror. This state of feeling would really seem to be the genuine result of that most singular scheme of society which is delineated in the Institutes of Menou. It seems probable that nature, thus expelled with a fork, must every now and then have recurred, and that the practical course of a Hindoo kingdom must have fallen a good deal short of ideal perfection. Yet there is evidence as old as Strabo and as recent as Colonel Sleeman's "Rambles and Recollections," to prove that the cultivators of the soil, that is, the great mass of the Hindoo people, are, to say the least, more indifferent than the inhabitants of any other region, not as to the manner in which, but as to the hands by which, the powers of government are exercised over them.

According to the passage of Strabo*, it frequently

* Δευτερον δε μερος ειναι το των γεωργων, οι πλειστοι τε εισι κα επιεικεστατοι * οι * αστρατειᾳ και ἀδειᾳ του εργαζεσθαι, πολιν μι προσιοντες μηδ' αλλη χρειᾳ μηδ' οχλησει κοινῃ· πολλακις γουν εν τῃ

happened that the hereditary soldiers were drawn up in battle array, and engaged in actual conflict with the enemy, while the hereditary husbandmen, whom the system confined entirely to their own agricultural function, were securely ploughing and digging in the same place, and at the same time. It was no affair of theirs which body of Chetryas might gain the victory, and afterwards exercise the powers of government. Their business was to till the earth, and to pay the government share of the produce to those who might happen to be the conquerors in the battle.

Colonel Sleeman, whose abilities and whose opportunities of studying the native character are well known to every one interested in the welfare of India, has the following passage, which, after an interval of nearly 2000 years, forms a truly curious counterpart to the one I have adduced from Strabo:—

"It is a singular fact, that the peasantry, and I may say the landed interest of the country generally, have never been the friends of any existing government—have never considered their interests and that of their government the same; and, consequently, have never felt any desire for its success or its duration." (*Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, vol. ii. p. 175.)

The truth evidently is, that the governing caste,

αυτῳ χρονῳ και τοπῳ τοις μεν παρατεταχθαι συμβαινει και διακινδυνευειν προς τους πολεμιους, οἱ δε αρουσιν η σκαπτουσιν ακινδυνως, προμαχους εχοντες εκεινους· εστι δε ἡ χωρα βασιλικη πασα· μισθον δε αυτην επι τεταρταις εργαζονται των καρπων. STRABO, lib. xv. p. 1030.

though born in the same country as the men engaged in tilling the soil, have always been aliens in relation to them. I do not mean that the governing caste have always oppressed their subjects. I mean only that as regards sympathy and the charities of life they have been as foreigners to the great mass of the people. And it is, therefore, not difficult to understand that the mass of the people should never have felt any desire for the success or duration of their government. A true imperial government, such as that of Rome (and even that is an example falling very short of attainable perfection), though foreign in blood, cannot be considered so foreign in feeling and interest to the races over whom its sway may extend as the governing caste of Hindoos was to the castes excluded from participation in the government.

The Hindoo race, then, of all the people that have ever existed on the face of the earth, seem to be pointed out by the finger of Providence as the most capable of receiving unlimited improvement from any foreign government which has the true imperial instinct.

What really exists in India of the feeling which we call loyalty is to be found in the military classes: —

"The fidelity of the military classes," says Colonel Sleeman, "to their immediate chief or leader, whose salt they eat, has been always very remarkable, and commonly bears little reference to his moral virtues, or conduct towards his superiors. They feel that it is their duty to serve him who feeds and protects them and their families, in all situations and under all circumstances; and the

chief feels that, while he has a right to their services, it is his imperative duty so to feed and protect them and their families. He may change sides as often as he pleases, but the relation between him and his followers remains unchanged. About the side he chooses to take in a contest for dominion, they ask no questions, and feel no responsibility."— Vol. i. p. 310.

Here again, in this feeling of the military classes, we may remark how the ground has, as it were, been prepared for a true imperial dominion. And it is highly to the credit of the East India Company and their governors, that, by just treatment and regular pay, they have created in their great army of sipahis a feeling which, if it has not the ardour of personal attachment, has the steadiness which belongs to duty when combined with interest.

The men to whom British dominion is really an object of dislike are the great men, who, supported by many followers, might have hoped, in the scramble for power which was going on when we established our dominion, and which would probably still be going on if we had not intervened, to have retained or acquired sovereignties of greater or less extent. But these are men who have not any common purpose. They may all wish to overthrow us, but for different and inconsistent objects. And, even if they had a common purpose, their education and habits disable them from combining together for the accomplishment of it.

No one of them desires to be the vassal of any other of them. And I believe, that if every native of India who could dream of aspiring to the

sceptre of an Indian empire were asked who next to himself he would consider most fit to exercise imperial power over the nations of the Peninsula, he would answer "Queen Victoria," if he knows that there is a Queen Victoria; if not, "The East India Company."

It must not be forgotten either that we govern in India, not one homogeneous nation, but a large assemblage of very different nations. The Bengali race might, even in the highest stage of civilisation, desire to be governed by a Bengali rather than by a British prince. The same may be said of the Tamil, of the Mahratta, of the Hindi, of the Mogul, of the Seikh races. But if the Bengalis were as equal to the most advanced European nation as education can make them, there is not the shadow of a reason for supposing that they would wish to take the chance of an imperial Seikh or Mogul government proving more disinterested and philanthropic than an imperial British government.

We have no need to practise the maxim *divide et impera*, so much celebrated by those who cultivate the lower wisdom. The people of India are already divided into unsympathising castes, bands, and nations. Political wisdom, as well as moral duty, recommends us, by means of the highest British education, to unite them into one British empire.

The class that we are creating, as we approach towards this great object, — the class imbued with European letters, from whom Lord Ellenborough apprehends so much danger, — will be for many ge-

nerations wholly dependent upon us, much more so than any of the separate and antagonistic classes which we found already existing; and they will exceed all those other classes in their enlightened perception of their true position, still more than in the degree of dependence which characterises it. They know that, if we were voluntarily to retire from India, they would instantly be subjugated by fierce and unlettered warriors. And if we cannot create in them the feeling of imperial loyalty long before they have ceased to have the feeling that their sole security is in our support, great nation as we may be, and famous throughout the world for skill in self-government, we shall have proved ourselves essentially unfitted for the sublimer function of imperial dominion.

This lettered class will be the genuine product of the Indo-British empire. They are only now beginning to exist, and we are in time to apply forethought to the purpose of making them what as British patriots in the highest sense of the term, we should desire to see them.

I have already said that, in imitating the examples of antiquity, we must do so critically, and not implicitly.

Both Alexander the Great and the Romans seem to have considered complete assimilation of races as the ideal point of perfection to be aimed at. The difference between them was, that Alexander thought his Greeks might find something worthy of imitation in the Asiatic nations whom he had made their fellow-citizens; while the Romans, except in the case of Greece itself (the author of their own

civilisation), endeavoured to bring about the desired assimilation only by Romanising the subject nations. A blighting shadow was thus thrown over every thing that was peculiar and national in the various divisions of the empire. Not one of the separate nations ever produced a literature of its own after its absorption into the great Roman state. In Gaul and Spain and Africa there was no lack of men capable, under the stimulus of Greek and Latin examples, of creating with their indigenous dialects something analogous to what France and Spain have since created under the same stimulus, with vernacular instruments which, though formed out of the ruins of Latin, were as different from Latin in structure and in general spirit as the Gallic and Iberian and Punic dialects of the Roman provinces. But all such men were driven, or at least were irresistibly drawn, by the Roman system of education and the general tone of Roman manners, to seek for reputation only as Latin poets, rhetoricians, and philosophers. The immediate result was abundance of skilful imitation, and a notable dearth of originality. After a time the successful imitators were followed by a puny tribe of commentators, compilers, and abbreviators. It must be admitted, I think, that the Romans would have been right, if the consolidation of their empire had been the sole object worth the attention of a nation aspiring to be the ruler of other nations.

The Romans had not the experience which now enables us to take a larger view of human affairs.

They saw that, in general, whatever was Greek

or Roman was better than what was barbarous, as they contemptuously called every thing foreign to those favoured races. They were not curious to inquire whether there might not be in the barbarians some latent germs worthy of culture and encouragement. Alexander and his followers were, I believe, the only Greeks superior to this prejudice. I am not aware that any Roman was so. It is no unplausible doctrine, even to a philanthropic mind, that, having discovered something better than other nations have discovered, we should endeavour to spread it uniformly over the whole face of the earth.

It is from reflection, working upon the experience furnished by the several independent nations of modern Europe, that we may now venture to lay down a different doctrine; and to say that, the unity of truth being preserved in knowledge, and the unity of good being preserved in action, we should foster with kindly encouragement, and receive with ready welcome, every variety of delightful product which the varieties of the human mind throughout the habitable world may spontaneously engender.

Every cultivated man, whatever may be his opinion of the comparative merits of Shakspeare and Racine, must rejoice that the world has got both. And it is perfectly clear that the world has got both only by reason of the immense diversity between England and France. No one will say that Shakspeare's plays could ever have been imagined in French and in France, or Racine's in English and in England; and if the Roman empire and its Romanising system had continued to thi

day, Europe, whatever it might have had instead, must have wanted its Shakspeare and its Racine.

It became clear, then, to me, comparing the condition of the Roman provinces with that of the modern European nations, that the Roman system of empire was incomplete; that while it was excellent for the negative purposes of preserving peace and order, it failed entirely as regards any other positive result than that of making Romans of the provincials. It did nothing to stimulate mental activity, to draw out peculiar excellences, or to rouse a generous rivalry among the nations which composed it.

Gibbon observes that the empire of the Cæsars undoubtedly checked the activity and progress of the human mind. And both he and Hume have remarked how that activity and progress were promoted by circumstances of an opposite character in the Greek republics, and afterwards in the nations of modern Europe: —

"Greece," says Hume, "was a cluster of little principalities, which soon became republics; and being united by their near neighbourhood, and by the ties of the same language and interest, they entered into the closest intercourse of commerce and learning. There concurred a happy climate, a soil not unfertile, and a most harmonious and comprehensive language; so that every circumstance among that people seemed to favour the rise of the arts and sciences. Each city produced its several artists and philosophers, who refused to yield the preference to those of the neighbouring republics. Their contentions and debates sharpened the wits of men: a variety of objects was presented to the judgment, while each challenged the preference of the rest; and the sciences, not being dwarfed

by the restraint of authority, were enabled to make such considerable shoots as are, even at this time, the objects of our admiration."

"Europe," he soon afterwards adds, "is at present a copy at large of what Greece was formerly a pattern in miniature."—*Hume's Essays*, Vol. i. p. 131.

At the end of Gibbon's 53rd chapter we find the following observation to the same effect: —

"In all the pursuits of active and speculative life, the emulation of states and individuals is the most powerful spring of the efforts and improvements of mankind. The cities of ancient Greece were cast in the happy mixture of union and independence, which is repeated on a larger scale, but in a looser form, by the nations of modern Europe; the union of language, religion, and manners which renders them the spectators and judges of each other's merit; the independence of government and interest, which asserts their separate freedom, and excites them to strive for pre-eminence in the career of glory."

Here is opened to us the second of the two noble objects unquestionably worthy to be contemplated and to all appearance capable of being realised, by Great Britain in the organisation of her Eastern empire. And here we have no imperial state to copy from, but must ourselves set the example to the world of an imperial people applying lessons derived only from the free rivalry by which independent but connected nations have approached perfection, to the production of a like effect in those over whom Providence has placed us both as governors and instructors.

A very interesting discourse by Sir Erskine

Perry, on the geographical distribution of the principal languages of India, may be seen in the journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (January, 1853). This discourse enables me to give a concise description of the materials we have to work upon in our endeavour, after contemplating the striking examples of the Greek and of the modern European states, to develop, for the third time in the world's history, the energies which may be latent in a group of distinct but connected nations. The language-map prefixed to Sir Erskine Perry's discourse shows a list of fourteen dialects. But the five principal languages of India, each of which has the advantage of an existing capital city for its centre, are all that need now engage our attention. These are,—

Languages.	*Capital Cities.*
1. Bengali	Calcutta.
2. Hindi (or, perhaps, Hindustani)	Agra.
3. Marathi	Bombay.
4. Tamil	Madras.
5. Singhalese	Colombo.

All these languages seem to have reached very nearly that point of cultivation which we should desire. They have dictionaries and grammars; and compositions exist in them which, though of very small intrinsic worth, are quite sufficient to prove that better things may be done with them when the men, whose mother-tongues they are, shall have been, for a long course of years, subjected to the powerful and beneficent stimulus which we have the means of imparting.

We find ourselves at the head of this new and (it may be) very important movement in the progress of the human race. We have some records of experience well worth consulting, but no model which we can directly imitate, in performing the responsible office thus cast upon us. The experience to be consulted is to be found, as I have already observed, in the mental development exhibited by the Hellenic tribes, and by the nations of modern Europe.

Regarding the sort of stimulus to be applied, the example of the Greeks affords us little or no instruction; for, although they may have taken a few hints from the Phœnicians and Egyptians, they were pre-eminently inventors. Some learned men of the Alexandrian school did, indeed, bring into question the originality of the Greeks. A great part of Clement's first book is occupied in endeavouring to show that they borrowed everything from other nations, and in particular from the Hebrews. He quotes the following expression from the Pythagorean Numenius*,

"What is Plato, but Moses speaking Attic?"

But these learned men were much more learned than wise. Clement himself not only seems to have believed that Plato drew the substance of his dialogues from the Old Testament, but that Miltiades was indebted to the same authority for the plan of the battle of Marathon.

* Τι γαρ εστι Πλατων η Μωσης Αττικιζων; Clemens Alex. i. 22.

The opinion of the heathen poet,

> "*Graiis ingenium, Graiis dedit ore rotundo*
> *Musa loqui,*"*

seems to be much nearer the truth. Dropping his poetical figure of the muse, and expressing myself with the reverence becoming to the occasion, I should say that, as far as I can perceive, God gave to the Greeks the faculty of conceiving and elaborating trains of thought, and of expressing them in the several forms of epics, odes, elegies, idylls, dramas, histories, orations, scientific treatises, moral and political discourses, which have ever since delighted all the civilised nations of the earth, and have, besides, communicated to those nations a genial fermentation similar to that in the midst of which these illustrious products of the Greek mind had themselves struggled into existence. Between that effect and the will of God no secondary cause, that I know of, can be discovered, except the favourable position, physical, social, and political, of the race thus destined to become in art and in philosophy the instructors of mankind.

The temperate climate and the happy configuration of the Mediterranean shores are not in general to be found in India, and we cannot create them. But we may perceive there much of the peculiar mixture of uniformity and diversity which was, perhaps, the most favourable circumstance in the position of the Greek tribes; and we have means at our disposal by which we can greatly improve this advantage.

* "The Muse gave to the Greeks genius and the power of expression."

The case of the modern European nations exhibits to us, not only how diversity in unity predisposes men's minds to the reception of the appropriate stimulus, but also helps us to discover what should be the nature of the stimulus, and how it should be applied. I have already shown how, by studying the history of Rome, we may learn to govern securely, and to assimilate to ourselves, as far as assimilation may be desirable, the various Asiatic nations who acknowledge our sway. But we cannot learn from the example of the Romans, or from the example of any dominant people, how to call forth the various excellences that may lie hid in an aggregate of nations resembling each other much, yet also differing much from each other. To learn this lesson, we must look at the movements of those whose energies found a voice in the Ionic, Doric, Æolic, and Attic dialects of ancient Greek; and at the corresponding movements of the English, French, Italian, German, and Spanish people of our present Europe, all striving independently and spontaneously, without any acknowledged head or general guidance.

It must not be supposed that I am here forgetting the exquisite beauty and solid merit of that large contribution to the literature of the world which was made by the Romans and their provincials. The Latin literature, admirable as it is, can hardly be considered, for the present purpose, as any thing more than an off-shoot of Hellenic literature. It is true that Latin was no dialect of Greek by its origin. It was a fellow-member with Greek of the great Indo-Germanic family of languages. But the

close, I had almost said the servile, imitation of the Greek authors by the Latin authors, and the multitude of words borrowed by them, combined with the Indo-Germanic family likeness, have placed Latin literature in such a position of subordination as well as of affinity to Greek literature, that I venture to treat it, for my present purpose, as one portion of the Greek development.

We have, then, before us the cases of ancient Greece and of modern Europe, and we observe that, in each, diversity in unity was the main characteristic. Every Æolic or Attic writer felt, every English or French writer feels, himself to be a member of two communities, a smaller and a larger. Hence a double emulation, an ambition to earn distinction for himself among his countrymen, and an ambition to earn distinction for his country among the kindred and rival nations. In both cases, the most conspicuous, and, indeed, most essential bond of unity was a common language. In the Greek literary world, not only did one language pervade the whole, but it was also the one organ, diversified slightly by its dialects, employed for the expression of thought and feeling. From this cause, among others, Greek literature, however transcendent its beauty, is far inferior in variety to that which it has helped to evoke from the nations whose collective name is Christendom.

We find existing in our Indian empire nations speaking Bengali, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, Singhalese; and these are, happily, not dialects, but separate, though cognate, languages, bearing to each other nearly the same relation as the languages of

Christendom bear to each other. There is a large infusion of Sanskrit in them all at the present day, and European scholars at first supposed them to be all derived from that stock. But more accurate investigations have led to the opinion that only the northern languages of India are the offspring of Sanskrit, as the Romanesque languages of Europe are of Latin, while the numerous Sanskrit words which now enrich the vocabularies of Southern India, like the Latin words so abundant in the Teutonic speech of Europe, are mere additions made to pre-existing languages, by borrowing from that venerable source. Sir Erskine Perry, who has consulted the authorities, and upon whom I rely, sums up as follows: —

"As a general conclusion, therefore, we may say that the whole of India may be divided between two classes of language: — the language of the intruding Arians, or Sanskritoid, in the north; and the language of a civilised race in the south of India, represented by its most cultivated branch, Tamil; just as the greater and more civilised part of Europe may be divided between two distinct families of language, the Teutonic and the Romanesque."

Thus Sanskrit was to India before the Mahommedan conquest, in a great measure what Latin was to Europe before the two great intellectual movements,— the reformation of religion, and the revival of learning. But the system of Menou, pervading the whole of Hindoo life, confined the study of the sacred language to the sacred caste. And this is, no doubt, one of the essential causes

which has checked the civilisation of the Hindoos. The Roman Catholic Church intrusted its sacred functions and taught its sacred language to every person whom it thought morally and intellectually competent to receive them, totally disregarding purity of blood and dignity of social position. In so acting, it probably sapped the foundations of its own exclusive dominion; but it deserves, for the large good which it intended, if not for the larger good of which it has been the unwilling instrument, the gratitude of those who have at heart the progress of their race. Menou and his Brahmans were perhaps wiser in their generation. But I must not suffer myself to be drawn into a tempting disquisition. My business, in this rapid sketch, is only to point out a remarkable difference between the masters of the general language in India and in Europe, while both exercised unmolested dominion.

The Mahommedan conquest greatly deranged the Hindoo system in this, as in other respects. It introduced Arabic as its own sacred language, and Persian as its language of literature and business. By a large infusion of these languages into Hindi, it created Hindustani, which, as the most convenient medium of communication between the conquerors and their subjects, became, and is now, the most widely diffused of the living Indian languages.

This was the state of things down to the year 1833; and I think that if the attention of Parliament had then been called to the subject, there is no doubt that English would have been fixed upon as the language through which the several nations belonging to our Anglo-Indian system

should communicate with each other, should receive the knowledge of Europe, and should preserve as much unity as is compatible with the wholesome rivalry of nation with nation. For English is the language which, while it binds together the Indian races, will also bind them to Great Britain; and English contains also such master-pieces in the several kinds of composition, and such a fund of useful and ornamental knowledge, that the two rival languages, Sanskrit and Arabic, must have shown transcendent claims of some other kind, before Parliament could have been induced to give them the preference. Nor could Parliament have failed to perceive, if it had undertaken to decide the question in 1833, that to give the natives a complete English education was the surest way of putting them in real and practical possession of the privilege of eligibility to all offices in their own country, which it was conferring upon them by law in the 87th section of the Statute. The question was not decided, indeed was not considered, in Parliament; but happily there were men in India competent from their official position to decide it, and, from their sagacity and enlarged views, to decide it correctly.

This was done eighteen years ago by Lord William Bentinck and Mr. Macaulay. In the early part of the year 1835, they made a radical change in the system which had been up to that time pursued by the Committee of Public Instruction, or Council of Education, as it was afterwards called. The revival of Sanskrit and Arabic learning had been the principal object of the committee

before that epoch, though the number of members who disapproved of that plan had gradually become as great, I believe, or nearly so, as that of its adherents.

The study of Sanskrit and that of Arabic are very fit objects to be pursued in India for certain special purposes. The study of Sanskrit, in particular, as a means of enriching the vernacular languages, and as a means of throwing light upon the movements of the human race before the commencement of history (though, in this latter inquiry, Benares and Calcutta will hardly emulate the fame of Bonn or of Paris), is, in my judgment, well deserving of encouragement. But it seems to me impossible that any impartial mind should prefer either of these languages to English, as the general basis of an imperial scheme of education for British India.

Lord William Bentinck and Mr. Macaulay decided in favour of the English language; and the natives of India owe them everlasting gratitude for the decision. The following minute, for the publication of which I have received the authority of its distinguished author, may be considered as the immediate cause of the resolution of government which settled this great question.

"As it seems to be the opinion of some of the gentlemen who compose the Committee of Public Instruction, that the course which they have hitherto pursued was strictly prescribed by the British Parliament in 1813, and as, if that opinion be correct, a legislative act will be necessary to warrant a change, I have thought it right to refrain from taking any part in the preparation of the ad-

verse statements which are now before us, and to reserve what I had to say on the subject till it should come before me as a member of the Council of India.

" It does not appear to me that the Act of Parliament can, by any art of construction, be made to bear the meaning which has been assigned to it. It contains nothing about the particular languages or sciences which are to be studied. A sum is set apart 'for the revival and promotion of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories.' It is argued, or rather taken for granted, that by literature the Parliament can have meant only Arabic and Sanscrit literature, that they never would have given the honourable appellation of 'a learned native' to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton, the metaphysics of Locke, and the physics of Newton; but that they meant to designate by that name only such persons as might have studied in the sacred books of the Hindoos all the uses of Cusa-grass, and all the mysteries of absorption into the Deity. This does not appear to be a very satisfactory interpretation. To take a parallel case: suppose that the Pacha of Egypt, a country once superior in knowledge to the nations of Europe, but now sunk far below them, were to appropriate a sum for the purpose of 'reviving and promoting literature, and encouraging learned natives of Egypt,' would any body infer that he meant the youth of his pachalic to give years to the study of hieroglyphics, to search into all the doctrines disguised under the fable of Osiris, and to ascertain with all possible accuracy the ritual with which cats and onions were anciently adored? Would he be justly charged with inconsistency, if, instead of employing his young subjects in deciphering obelisks, he were to order them to be instructed in the English and French languages, and in all the sciences to which those languages are the chief keys?

" The words on which the supporters of the old system

rely do not bear them out, and other words follow which seem to be quite decisive on the other side. This lac of rupees is set apart, not only for 'reviving literature in India,' the phrase on which their whole interpretation is founded, but also 'for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories,' words which are alone sufficient to authorise all the changes for which I contend.

"If the Council agree in my construction, no legislative Act will be necessary. If they differ from me, I will prepare a short Act rescinding that clause of the charter of 1813 from which the difficulty arises.

"The argument which I have been considering affects only the form of proceeding. But the admirers of the Oriental system of education have used another argument, which, if we admit it to be valid, is decisive against all change. They conceive that the public faith is pledged to the present system, and that to alter the appropriation of any of the funds which have hitherto been spent in encouraging the study of Arabic and Sanscrit would be downright spoliation. It is not easy to understand by what process of reasoning they can have arrived at this conclusion. The grants which are made from the public purse for the encouragement of literature differ in no respect from the grants which are made from the same purse for other objects of real or supposed utility. We found a sanatarium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanatarium there, if the result should not answer our expectation? We commence the erection of a pier. Is it a violation of the public faith to stop the works, if we afterwards see reason to believe that the building will be useless? The rights of property are undoubtedly sacred. But nothing endangers those rights so much as the practice, now unhappily too common, of attributing them to things to which they do not belong. Those who would impart to abuses the sanctity of property are in truth im-

parting to the institution of property the unpopularity and the fragility of abuses. If the government has given to any person a formal assurance; nay, if the government has excited in any person's mind a reasonable expectation that he shall receive a certain income as a teacher or a learner of Sanscrit or Arabic, I would respect that person's pecuniary interests. I would rather err on the side of liberality to individuals than suffer the public faith to be called in question. But to talk of a government pledging itself to teach certain languages and certain sciences, though those languages may become useless, though those sciences may be exploded, seems to me quite unmeaning. There is not a single word in any public instrument from which it can be inferred that the Indian government ever intended to give any pledge on this subject, or ever considered the destination of these funds as unalterably fixed. But had it been otherwise, I should have denied the competence of our predecessors to bind us by any pledge on such a subject. Suppose that a government had in the last century enacted in the most solemn manner that all its subjects should, to the end of time, be inoculated for the small-pox: would that government be bound to persist in the practice after Jenner's discovery? These promises, of which nobody claims the performance, and from which nobody can grant a release; these vested rights, which vest in nobody; this property without proprietors; this robbery, which makes nobody poorer, may be comprehended by persons of higher faculties than mine. I consider this plea merely as a set form of words, regularly used both in England and in India, in defence of every abuse for which no other plea can be set up.

"I hold this lac of rupees to be quite at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council, for the purpose of promoting learning in India, in any way which may be thought most advisable. I hold his lordship to be quite as free to direct that it shall no longer be employed in encouraging Arabic and Sanscrit, as he is to direct that the reward for

killing tigers in Mysore shall be diminished, or that no more public money shall be expended on the chanting at the cathedral.

"We now come to the gist of the matter. We have a fund to be employed as government shall direct for the intellectual improvement of the people of this country. The simple question is, what is the most useful way of employing it?

"All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides, that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can, at present, be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

"What then shall that language be? One half of the committee maintain that it should be the English. The other half strongly recommend the Arabic and Sanscrit. The whole question seems to me to be, which language is the best worth knowing?

"I have no knowledge of either Sanscrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanscrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is, indeed, fully admitted by those members of the committee who support the Oriental plan of education.

"It will hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the depart-

ment of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanscrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded, and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same.

"How, then, stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature; with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said,

that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which three hundred years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together. Nor is this all: In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the South of Africa, the other in Australasia; communities which are every year becoming more important, and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

"The question now before us, is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier; — astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding-school, — history, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long, — and geography, made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

"We are not without experience to guide us. History furnishes several analogous cases, and they all teach the same lesson. There are in modern times, to go no further, two memorable instances of a great impulse given to the mind of a whole society, — of prejudices overthrown, —

of knowledge diffused,—of taste purified,—of arts and sciences planted in countries which had recently been ignorant and barbarous.

"The first instance to which I refer, is the great revival of letters among the Western nations at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that time almost every thing that was worth reading was contained in the writings of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted; had they neglected the language of Cicero and Tacitus; had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island; had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but chronicles in Anglo-Saxon, and romances in Norman-French, would England have been what she now is? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India. The literature of England is now more valuable than that of classical antiquity. I doubt whether the Sanscrit literature be as valuable as that of our Saxon and Norman progenitors. In some departments, in history, for example, I am certain that it is much less so.

"Another instance may be said to be still before our eyes. Within the last hundred and twenty years, a nation which had previously been in a state as barbarous as that in which our ancestors were before the Crusades, has gradually emerged from the ignorance in which it was sunk, and has taken its place among civilized communities. I speak of Russia. There is now in that country a large educated class, abounding with persons fit to serve the state in the highest functions, and in no wise inferior to the most accomplished men who adorn the best circles of Paris and London. There is reason to hope that this vast empire, which in the time of our grandfathers was probably behind the Punjab, may, in the time of our grandchildren, be pressing close on France and Britain in the career of improvement. And how was this change

effected? Not by flattering national prejudices: not by feeding the mind of the young Muscovite with the old women's stories which his rude fathers had believed: not by filling his head with lying legends about St. Nicholas: not by encouraging him to study the great question, whether the world was or was not created on the 13th of September: not by calling him 'a learned native,' when he had mastered all these points of knowledge: but by teaching him those foreign languages in which the greatest mass of information had been laid up, and thus putting all that information within his reach. The languages of Western Europe civilized Russia. I cannot doubt that they will do for the Hindoo what they have done for the Tartar.

"And what are the arguments against that course which seems to be alike recommended by theory and by experience? It is said that we ought to secure the co-operation of the native public, and that we can do this only by teaching Sanscrit and Arabic.

"I can by no means admit that when a nation of high intellectual attainments undertakes to superintend the education of a nation comparatively ignorant, the learners are absolutely to prescribe the course which is to be taken by the teachers. It is not necessary, however, to say any thing on this subject. For it is proved by unanswerable evidence that we are not at present securing the co-operation of the natives. It would be bad enough to consult their intellectual taste at the expense of their intellectual health. But we are consulting neither. We are withholding from them the learning for which they are craving; we are forcing on them the mock-learning which they nauseate.

"This is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanscrit students, while those who learn English are willing to pay us. All the declamations in the world about the love and reverence of the natives for their sacred dialects will never, in the mind of any im-

partial person, outweigh the undisputed fact, that we cannot find, in all our vast empire, a single student who will let us teach him those dialects unless we will pay him.

"I have now before me the accounts of the Madrassa for one month, — the month of December, 1833. The Arabic students appear to have been seventy-seven in number. All receive stipends from the public. The whole amount paid to them is above 500 rupees a month. On the other side of the account stands the following item: —

"'Deduct amount realized from the out-students of English for the months of May, June, and July last, 103 rupees.'

"I have been told that it is merely from want of local experience that I am surprised at these phenomena, and that it is not the fashion for students in India to study at their own charges. This only confirms me in my opinion. Nothing is more certain than that it never can in any part of the world be necessary to pay men for doing what they think pleasant and profitable. India is no exception to this rule. The people of India do not require to be paid for eating rice when they are hungry, or for wearing woollen cloth in the cold season. To come nearer to the case before us, the children who learn their letters and a little elementary arithmetic from the village schoolmaster are not paid by him. He is paid for teaching them. Why, then, is it necessary to pay people to learn Sanscrit and Arabic? Evidently because it is universally felt that the Sanscrit and Arabic are languages the knowledge of which does not compensate for the trouble of acquiring them. On all such subjects the state of the market is the decisive test.

"Other evidence is not wanting, if other evidence were required. A petition was presented last year to the committee by several ex-students of the Sanscrit College. The petitioners stated that they had studied in the college ten

or twelve years; that they had made themselves acquainted with Hindoo literature and science; that they had received certificates of proficiency: and what is the fruit of all this? 'Notwithstanding such testimonials,' they say, 'we have but little prospect of bettering our condition without the kind assistance of your honourable committee, the indifference with which we are generally looked upon by our countrymen leaving no hope of encouragement and assistance from them.' They therefore beg that they may be recommended to the Governor-General for places under the government, not places of high dignity or emolument, but such as may just enable them to exist. 'We want means,' they say, 'for a decent living, and for our progressive improvement, which, however, we cannot obtain without the assistance of government, by whom we have been educated and maintained from childhood.' They conclude by representing, very pathetically, that they are sure that it was never the intention of government, after behaving so liberally to them during their education, to abandon them to destitution and neglect.

"I have been used to see petitions to government for compensation. All these petitions, even the most unreasonable of them, proceeded on the supposition that some loss had been sustained,—that some wrong had been inflicted. These are surely the first petitioners who ever demanded compensation for having been educated gratis,—for having been supported by the public during twelve years, and then sent forth into the world well furnished with literature and science. They represent their education as an injury which gives them a claim on the government for redress, as an injury for which the stipends paid to them during the infliction were a very inadequate compensation. And I doubt not that they are in the right. They have wasted the best years of life in learning what procures for them neither bread nor respect. Surely we might, with advantage, have saved the cost of making these persons useless and miserable; surely men may be

brought up to be burdens to the public and objects of contempt to their neighbours, at a somewhat smaller charge to the state. But such is our policy. We do not even stand neuter in the contest between truth and falsehood. We are not content to leave the natives to the influence of their own hereditary prejudices. To the natural difficulties which obstruct the progress of sound science in the East, we add fresh difficulties of our own making. Bounties and premiums, such as ought not to be given even for the propagation of truth, we lavish on false taste and false philosophy.

"By acting thus we create the very evil which we fear. We are making that opposition which we do not find. What we spend on the Arabic and Sanscrit Colleges is not merely a dead loss to the cause of truth; it is bounty-money paid to raise up champions of error. It goes to form a nest, not merely of helpless place-hunters, but of bigots prompted alike by passion and by interest to raise a cry against every useful scheme of education. If there should be any opposition among the natives to the change which I recommend, that opposition will be the effect of our own system. It will be headed by persons supported by our stipends and trained in our colleges. The longer we persevere in our present course, the more formidable will that opposition be. It will be every year reinforced by recruits whom we are paying. From the native society, *left to itself*, we have no difficulties to apprehend; all the murmuring will come from that Oriental interest which we have, by artificial means, called into being, and nursed into strength.

"There is yet another fact, which is alone sufficient to prove that the feeling of the native public, when left to itself, is not such as the supporters of the old system represent it to be. The committee have thought fit to lay out above a lac of rupees in printing Arabic and Sanscrit books. Those books find no purchasers. It is very rarely that a single copy is disposed of. Twenty-three thousand

volumes, most of them folios and quartos, fill the libraries, or rather the lumber-rooms, of this body. The committee contrive to get rid of some portion of their vast stock of Oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print. About twenty thousand rupees a year are spent in adding fresh masses of waste paper to a hoard which, we should think, is already sufficiently ample. During the last three years, about sixty thousand rupees have been expended in this manner. The sale of Arabic and Sanscrit books, during those three years, has not yielded quite one thousand rupees. In the meantime the School-book Society is selling seven or eight thousand English volumes every year, and not only pays the expenses of printing, but realises a profit of 20 per cent. on its outlay.

"The fact that the Hindoo law is to be learned chiefly from Sanscrit books, and the Mahometan law from Arabic books, has been much insisted on, but seems not to bear at all on the question. We are commanded by Parliament to ascertain and digest the laws of India. The assistance of a Law Commission has been given to us for that purpose. As soon as the code is promulgated, the Shasters and the Hedaya will be useless to a Moonsiff or Sudder Ameen. I hope and trust that before the boys who are now entering at the Madrassa and the Sanscrit College have completed their studies, this great work will be finished. It would be manifestly absurd to educate the rising generation with a view to a state of things which we mean to alter before they reach manhood.

"But there is yet another argument which seems even more untenable. It is said that the Sanscrit and Arabic are the languages in which the Sacred books of a hundred millions of people are written, and that they are, on that account, entitled to peculiar encouragement. Assuredly it is the duty of the British government in India to be not only tolerant, but neutral, on all religious questions. But to encourage the study of a literature admitted to be

of small intrinsic value, only because that literature inculcates the most serious errors on the most important subjects, is a course hardly reconcileable with reason, with morality, or even with that very neutrality which ought, as we all agree, to be sacredly preserved. It is confessed that a language is barren of useful knowledge. We are to teach it because it is fruitful of monstrous superstitions. We are to teach false history, false astronomy, false medicine, because we find them in company with a false religion. We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting natives to Christianity. And while we act thus, can we reasonably and decently bribe men, out of the revenues of the state, to waste their youth in learning how they are to purify themselves after touching an ass, or what text of the Vedas they are to repeat to expiate the crime of killing a goat?

"It is taken for granted by the advocates of Oriental learning, that no native of this country can possibly attain more than a mere smattering of English. They do not attempt to prove this; but they perpetually insinuate it. They designate the education which their opponents recommend as a mere spelling-book education. They assume it as undeniable, that the question is between a profound knowledge of Hindoo and Arabian literature and science on the one side, and a superficial knowledge of the rudiments of English on the other. This is not merely an assumption, but an assumption contrary to all reason and experience. We know that foreigners of all nations do learn our language sufficiently to have access to all the most abstruse knowledge which it contains, sufficiently to relish even the more delicate graces of our most idiomatic writers. There are in this very town natives who are quite competent to discuss political or scientific questions with fluency and precision in the English language. I have heard the very question on which I am now writing discussed by native gentlemen with a liberality and an intel-

ligence which would do credit to any member of the Committee of Public Instruction. Indeed, it is unusual to find, even in the literary circles of the Continent, any foreigner who can express himself in English with so much facility and correctness as we find in many Hindoos. Nobody, I suppose, will contend, that English is so difficult to a Hindoo as Greek to an Englishman. Yet an intelligent English youth, in a much smaller number of years than our unfortunate pupils pass at the Sanscrit College, becomes able to read, to enjoy, and even to imitate, not unhappily, the compositions of the best Greek authors. Less than half the time which enables an English youth to read Herodotus and Sophocles, ought to enable a Hindoo to read Hume and Milton.

"To sum up what I have said, I think it clear that we are not fettered by the Act of Parliament of 1813; that we are not fettered by any pledge expressed or implied; that we are free to employ our funds as we choose; that we ought to employ them in teaching what is best worth knowing; that English is better worth knowing than Sanscrit or Arabic; that the natives are desirous to be taught English, and are not desirous to be taught Sanscrit or Arabic; that neither as the languages of law, nor as the languages of religion, have the Sanscrit and Arabic any peculiar claim to our encouragement; that it is possible to make natives of this country thoroughly good English scholars, and that to this end our efforts ought to be directed.

"In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them, that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich

those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population.

"I would strictly respect all existing interests. I would deal even generously with all individuals who have had fair reason to expect a pecuniary provision. But I would strike at the root of the bad system which has hitherto been fostered by us. I would at once stop the printing of Arabic and Sanscrit books. I would abolish the Madrassa and the Sanscrit College at Calcutta. Benares is the great seat of Brahmanical learning; Delhi, of Arabic learning. If we retain the Sanscrit College at Benares and the Mahometan College at Delhi, we do enough, and much more than enough in my opinion, for the Eastern languages. If the Benares and Delhi Colleges should be retained, I would at least recommend that no stipends shall be given to any students who may hereafter repair thither, but that the people shall be left to make their own choice between the rival systems of education without being bribed by us to learn what they have no desire to know. The funds which would thus be placed at our disposal would enable us to give larger encouragement to the Hindoo College at Calcutta, and to establish in the principal cities throughout the Presidencies of Fort William and Agra schools in which the English language might be well *and thoroughly taught.*

"If the decision of his lordship in Council should be such as I anticipate, I shall enter on the performance of my duties with the greatest zeal and alacrity. If, on the other hand, it be the opinion of the government that the present system ought to remain unchanged, I beg that I may be permitted to retire from the chair of the committee. I feel that I could not be of the smallest use there. I feel, also, that I should be lending my countenance to what I firmly believe to be a mere delusion. I believe that the present system tends, not to accelerate the progress of

truth, but to delay the natural death of expiring errors. I conceive that we have at present no right to the respectable name of a Board of Public Instruction. We are a board for wasting public money, for printing books which are of less value than the paper on which they are printed was while it was blank; for giving artificial encouragement to absurd history, absurd metaphysics, absurd physics, absurd theology; for raising up a breed of scholars who find their scholarship an encumbrance and a blemish, who live on the public while they are receiving their education, and whose education is so utterly useless to them that, when they have received it, they must either starve or live on the public all the rest of their lives. Entertaining these opinions, I am naturally desirous to decline all share in the responsibility of a body which, unless it alters its whole mode of proceeding, I must consider not merely as useless, but as positively noxious.

"T. B. MACAULAY.

"February 2nd, 1835.

"I give my entire concurrence to the sentiments expressed in this minute.

"W. C. BENTINCK."

It should be remembered, that Mr. Macaulay was considering Sanskrit literature in the minute just quoted only with reference to the very small advantage which the present inhabitants of India could derive from the study of it, as compared with the study of English literature, and not with reference to the evidence it affords of scientific and æsthetic power in the Sanskrit authors. Considering it in this latter point of view, I should say, judging from translations and descriptions, that its epics, dramas, and mathematical treatises establish

beyond question that the writers, whose unborrowed and spontaneous products they are, belonged to a very highly-gifted race. But that consideration does not in the least affect the conclusion at which Mr. Macaulay arrived, and which immediately afterwards assumed a practical shape in the following Resolution of Government, dated 7th of March, 1835.

"The Governor-General of India in council has attentively considered the two letters from the secretary to the committee, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

"2nd. — His Lordship in council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

"3rd. — But it is not the intention of his Lordship in council to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords; and his Lordship in council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But his Lordship in council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be, to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions, and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the

committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

"4th.—It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in council that a large sum has been expended by the committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

"5th.—His Lordship in council directs, that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science, through the medium of the English language; and his Lordship in council requests the committee to submit to Government with all expedition a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose."

Before the promulgation of this Resolution Mr. Henry Shakespear, a distinguished civil servant of the Company, who was then President of the Committee of Public Instruction, resigned that post, not in anger, but because he conscientiously thought that it ought to be filled by some one more favourably disposed to the new order of things. He was succeeded by Mr. Macaulay. About the same time a few native gentlemen, Hindoo and Mahommedan, were admitted into the Committee, and thus the new system was fairly inaugurated.*

The question intended to be decided by the Resolution lay between the Sanskrit and Arabic languages on the one hand, and English on the

* See Trevelyan on the Education of the People of India, pp. 14—16.

other. There had been much controversy on the subject before the passing of the Resolution, one incident of which, preserved by Bishop Heber, ought not to be omitted in any sketch of these transactions.

"'Ram Mohun Roy,' says the Bishop*, in a letter to Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, dated March, 1824, 'a learned native, who has sometimes been called, though I fear without reason, a Christian, remonstrated against this system last year, in a paper which he sent me to be put into Lord Amherst's hands, and which, for its good English, good sense, and forcible argument, is a real curiosity, as coming from an Asiatic.'"

Ram Mohun Roy's letter is as follows: —

"*To His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, Governor-General in Council.*

"My Lord,

"Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose language, literature, manners, customs, and ideas, are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances as the natives of the country are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of a gross dereliction of duty to ourselves, and afford our rulers just ground of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of

* I quote from Sir Charles Trevelyan, on the Education of the People of India, pp. 60—65.

importance like the present to supply them with such accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our local knowledge and experience their declared benevolent intentions for its improvement.

"The establishment of a new Sanskrit school in Calcutta evinces the laudable desire of Government to improve the natives of India by education, — a blessing for which they must ever be grateful; and every well-wisher of the human race must be desirous that the efforts made to promote it should be guided by the most enlightened principles, so that the stream of intelligence may flow in the most useful channels.

"When this seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world.

"While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge thus promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude; we already offered up thanks to Providence for inspiring the most generous and enlightened nation of the West with the glorious ambition of planting in Asia the arts and sciences of modern Europe.

"We find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu pundits, to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to

load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

"The Sanskrit language, so difficult that almost a lifetime is necessary for its acquisition, is well known to have been for ages a lamentable check on the diffusion of knowledge; and the learning concealed under this almost impervious veil is far from sufficient to reward the labour of acquiring it. But if it were thought necessary to perpetuate this language for the sake of the portion of valuable information it contains, this might be much more easily accomplished by other means than the establishment of a new Sanskrit college; for there have been always and are now numerous professors of Sanskrit, in the different parts of the country, engaged in teaching this language as well as the other branches of literature which are to be the object of the new seminary. Therefore their more diligent cultivation, if desirable, would be effectually promoted by holding out premiums and granting certain allowances to their most eminent professors, who have already undertaken on their own account to teach them, and would by such rewards be stimulated to still greater exertions.

"From these considerations, as the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India was intended by the Government in England for the improvement of its Indian subjects, I beg leave to state, with due deference to your Lordship's exalted situation, that if the plan now adopted be followed, it will completely defeat the object proposed; since no improvement can be expected from inducing young men to consume a dozen of years of the most valuable period of their lives in acquiring the niceties of Byakaran or Sanskrit grammar. For instance, in

learning to discuss such points as the following: khad, signifying to eat, khaduti, he or she or it eats; query, whether does khaduti, taken as a whole, convey the meaning he, she, or it eats, or are separate parts of this meaning conveyed by distinctions of the word? As if in the English language it were asked, how much meaning is there in the *eat*, how much in the *s*? and is the whole meaning of the word conveyed by these two portions of it distinctly, or by them taken jointly?

"Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following, which are the themes suggested by the Vedant: — in what manner is the soul absorbed into the deity? what relation does it bear to the divine essence? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the vedantic doctrines, which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence; that as father, brother, &c. have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better. Again, no essential benefit can be derived by the student of the Mimangsa from knowing what it is that makes the killer of a goat sinless on pronouncing certain passages of the Vedant, and what is the real nature and operative influence of passages of the Vedas, &c.

"The student of the Nyayushastra cannot be said to have improved his mind after he has learned from it into how many ideal classes the objects in the universe are divided, and what speculative relation the soul bears to the body, the body to the soul, the eye to the ear, &c.

"In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterised, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress of knowledge made since he wrote.

"If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy

would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction; embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus.

"In representing this subject to your Lordship I conceive myself discharging a solemn duty which I owe to my countrymen, and also to that enlightened sovereign and legislature which have extended their benevolent care to this distant land, actuated by a desire to improve its inhabitants, and therefore humbly trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus expressing my sentiments to your Lordship.

"I have the honour, &c.

"RAM MOHUN ROY."

The good English, good sense, and forcible argument of this letter will be as readily admitted now by every Englishman who reads it, as they were by Bishop Heber in the year 1824. But I can confidently assure Parliament and the public that it can no longer be considered "a real curiosity as coming from an Asiatic." In the twenty-four years which, when I left India, had elapsed from the date of Heber's letter, a class of young men had issued from the Hindoo and Hooghly Colleges, and, I dare say, from other colleges with which I

am less acquainted, who, unless the denial of University honours, and the apparent intention of confining natives to the uncovenanted service, have driven them to abandon their literary pursuits, must now possess as large a stock of good English, good sense, and forcible argument as was then supposed to exist only in the person of Ram Mohun Roy.

I have purposely confined myself within the limits of my own personal experience; but I have no doubt that the system founded by Mr. Macaulay and Sir Edward Ryan, and carried on by me up to the year 1848, has been as zealously carried on since by my successors, Mr. Drinkwater Bethune and Sir James Colvile. I shall have occasion to quote for a different purpose from a composition of my friend the Reverend Krishna Mohun Banerjea, but I cannot refrain from referring to it in this place, as a striking example among many by which I am able to prove, that no one would now be justified in expressing surprise at seeing good English, good sense, and forcible argument proceed from an Asiatic.

A great deal more controversy took place when the change was accomplished. Part of the discontent which it excited arose from a belief that, by the Resolution of the 7th of March 1835, government had intended that education in English should be given in its colleges to the exclusion of education in the vernacular languages of the country. The Committee of Public Instruction considered this to be an erroneous interpretation of the Resolution, and took the earliest opportunity of explaining to the public their own view of what was really

intended by government in this respect. The following remarks are contained in their annual report of that period:—

"We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages. We do not conceive that the order of the 7th of March precludes us from doing this, and we have constantly acted on this construction. In the discussions which preceded that order, the claims of the vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties, and the question submitted for the decision of Government only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English on the one side, and the learned Eastern languages on the other. We therefore conceive that the phrases 'European literature and science,' 'English education alone,' and 'imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language,' are intended merely to secure the preference to European learning taught through the medium of the English language, over Oriental learning taught through the medium of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, as regards the instruction of those natives who receive a learned education at our seminaries. These expressions have, as we understand them, no reference to the question through what ulterior medium such instruction as the mass of the people is capable of receiving, is to be conveyed. If English had been rejected, and the learned Eastern tongues adopted, the people must equally have received their knowledge through the vernacular dialects. It was therefore quite unnecessary for the Government, in deciding the question between the rival languages, to take any notice of the vernacular tongues, and consequently we have thought that nothing could reasonably be inferred from its omission to take such notice.

"We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed. At present, the extensive cultivation of some foreign language, which is always very improving to the mind, is rendered indispensable by the almost total absence of a vernacular literature, and the consequent impossibility of obtaining a tolerable education from that source only. The study of English, to which many circumstances induce the natives to give the preference, and with it the knowledge of the learning of the West, is therefore daily spreading. This, as it appears to us, is the first stage in the process by which India is to be enlightened. The natives must learn before they can teach. The best educated among them must be placed in possession of our knowledge, before they can transfer it into their own language. We trust that the number of such translations will now multiply every year. As the superiority of European learning becomes more generally appreciated, the demand for them will no doubt increase, and we shall be able to encourage any good books which may be brought out in the native languages by adopting them extensively in our seminaries.

"A teacher of the vernacular language of the province is already attached to several of our institutions, and we look to this plan soon becoming general. We have also endeavoured to secure the means of judging for ourselves of the degree of attention which is paid to this important branch of instruction, by requiring that the best translations from English into the vernacular language, and *vice versâ*, should be sent to us after each annual examination, and, if they seem to deserve it, a pecuniary prize is awarded by us to the authors of them."

The government sanctioned this explanation of its intentions; and the plan of combining the acquisition of knowledge, through the English language, with the acquisition of facility and elegance in the

use of the vernacular tongues, has ever since been steadily acted on.

The greater part, however, of the controversy that arose was founded upon what was unquestionably the true meaning of the Resolution of March, 1835, that is to say, upon the substitution of English for Sanskrit and Arabic. Among the opponents of the change there may have been some who looked upon the exaltation of Sanskrit and Arabic as a convenient and unsuspected mode of putting the natives upon a false scent in their pursuit of genuine knowledge, and of the moral elevation which is its ultimate and general consequence; and thus, of postponing indefinitely the time when a young native gentleman, issuing from the Hindoo or the Hooghly College, should be as undeniably fit as a young English gentleman fresh from Haileybury, to begin an official career, opening to him a prospect of attaining, by probity and diligence, the highest employments which the local government can bestow. But it is not to be doubted that many of those who contended for the Oriental languages were quite as ardent and as sincere in their desire for the regeneration of India, as any of the disputants who took the opposite side in the controversy.

I have now before me, in print, four letters on the education of the people of India, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., B.C.S., entitled "Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars, or the Anglicists answered;" and a paper, also in print, entitled "Three Remarks on the Education of the Natives of India," by Dr. A. Sprenger, B.M.S. The first of these gentlemen

is a distinguished Sanskrit scholar, and has conversed much with the learned natives. The second is a great master of Arabic, and now fills, with much credit, the office of principal in the Mahommedan College of Calcutta.

I agree in many of Mr. Hodgson's opinions. I am not sure that I fully comprehend every passage in his book, for sometimes he appears to me to use expressions which are not perfectly consistent with what he says in other places. But, if I do rightly understand him, there is certainly more than one point on which I am compelled to differ from him. It is, however, on one point only that I now think it necessary to express an opinion at variance with his, and to give my reasons for doing so.

He contends in the following passage against any attempt to improve the living tongues of India by directly grafting English terms upon them.

"Any number of new terms, as clear to the mind and as little startling to the ear as the oldest words in the languages, may be introduced into Hindee and Bengalee from Sanskrit, owing to the peculiar genius of the latter, with *much more* facility than we can introduce new terms into English; nor does the task of introducing such terms into the Indian vernaculars imply or exact more than the most ordinary skill or labour on the part of the conductors of education, *so long* as they *disconnect* not *themselves wholly from Indian literature.* With such views of the nature of language in general, and of the existing comparative value of the languages of Europe and of India, I foresee that I may be set down for a lingual sceptic, or may be, perchance, enlisted under the banners of that party which, without substituting English for the living tongues of India, would improve the latter by *directly*

grafting English terms upon them, in preference to resorting to Sanskrit and Arabic. So far, however, from the truth is it, that my views of the general question are sceptical, that I am thoroughly convinced there *is* such a thing as idiosyncracy and genius in every cognate group of languages, and that this genius is of so *rigid and commanding a nature* that it is indispensably necessary humbly to bow to it, in all schemes for the improvement of any given tongue; for, if not, how happened it that those wonderful men who flourished in England between the Reformation and the Revolution, placed as they were close to the sources of our language, and endowed as they were with the highest faculties, yet failed utterly in becoming models of style? And how happened it that the wits of Queen Anne, much remoter as they were placed from the sources of our language, and incomparably inferior as were their mental powers, became so at once and for ever? The sole reason is, that the former opposed, and the latter yielded to, the genius of our tongue, both in their terms and in their sentences."*

The men whose mother tongues are Hindi and Bengali are warned to abstain from adopting English words and English turns of expression. The danger which is expected to deter them from that course is the danger of failing as utterly, in becoming models of style, as Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton, Bacon, and Hooker.

I myself entertain sanguine hopes of what may be done by the careful cultivation of Hindi and Bengali. But what Mr. Hodgson would consider utter failure, I should esteem pre-eminent success. Mr. Hodgson will not be satisfied unless the Hindi and Bengali authors invent a style in their

* Hodgson's Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars, p. 16.

respective languages which shall rival that bequeathed to us by the wits who flourished under Queen Anne. I have a high admiration of Swift and Addison, who, I suppose, are the writers more particularly alluded to. But if the alternative lay between the sacrifice of those models (I am speaking, too, with reference to style only) and the sacrifice of Bacon, Hooker, and Milton, I should not hesitate for a moment to abandon Swift and Addison. Those eminent wits of Queen Anne's day never intended or desired that the style which they introduced should supersede the models handed down from the period preceding the Restoration. They adapted their style to the special object they had in view, which was to convince, or to instruct, ignorant men. Assuredly they never thought that the "Advancement of Learning," or the "Areopagitica for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," would be improved by translation into the language which was probably the very fittest instrument that could have been devised for such a purpose as that of stopping the currency of Wood's halfpence.

The general tenour of Swift's and Addison's writings would be quite sufficient to convince me of this. But we have Swift's own authority to show how conspicuous was, in his estimation, the success of those great English authors who, according to Mr. Hodgson, utterly failed in becoming models of style. Swift's opinion, too, is not delivered in passing, and when his mind was intent upon some other subject, but with all deliberation, in a paper entitled "Proposal for correcting, im-

proving, and ascertaining, the English Tongue," addressed to Lord Treasurer Oxford. In that proposal, after making some observations upon other languages, he says: —

"Having taken this compass, I return to those considerations upon our own language, which I would humbly offer your Lordship. The period wherein the English tongue received most improvement, I take to commence with the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in forty-two. 'Tis true there was a very ill taste both of style and wit, which prevailed under King James the First; but that seems to have been corrected in the first years of his successor, who, among many other qualifications of an excellent prince, was a great patron of learning. From the civil war to this present time, I am apt to doubt whether the corruptions in our own language have not at least equalled the refinements of it; and these corruptions very few of the best authors in our age have wholly escaped."*

In the same composition Swift says, after alluding to Addison: —

"This author, who has tried the force and compass of our language with so much success, agrees entirely with me in most of my sentiments relating to it; so do the greatest part of the men of wit and learning, whom I have had the happiness to converse with; and, therefore, I imagine that such a society [the society of which he was recommending the institution] would be pretty unanimous in the main points."†

We have, then, unquestionable evidence to prove

* Swift's Works, Scott's edition, vol. ix. pp. 349, 350.
† Ibid. p. 358.

that the wits of Queen Anne's day did not contemplate the substitution of the style which they invented and brought to perfection, for the more elevated diction handed down by the patriarchs of our literature.

Mr. Hodgson's argument seems to assume, that Swift and Addison resorted to the Anglo-Saxon language for the purpose of enriching the English vocabulary, and of furnishing turns of expression not before adopted by English writers, as he recommends Bengali and Hindi writers to resort for those purposes to the parent Sanskrit. But all that Swift and Addison really did was, to make a more ample use of those words, and those grammatical forms derived from the Anglo-Saxon stock, which they found already existing in vernacular English; and, of course, in a corresponding degree, to make a more sparing use of the words and grammatical forms which their predecessors had borrowed from the Latin source.

Until Bengali and Hindi authors shall have first spoilt their mother tongues by the naturalisation of English words and forms, as English itself was spoilt by Bacon, Hooker, and Milton, there will be no occasion for a change analogous to that wrought by Swift and Addison, which did not consist in fresh importations from Anglo-Saxon, but only in a less copious use of the importations already made from Latin. For my part, I shall be satisfied if the reign of Queen Victoria in India corresponds to the Elizabethan era in England, as regards the improvement of the vernacular languages and their adaptation to the higher walks of literature.

The only other arguments used by Mr. Hodgson on this subject are contained in the paragraph immediately following the one I have already cited.

"If, again, it be not necessary to consult idiomatic law, the usage of society, and vernacular euphony, whence arises a great part of that difficulty in respect to the introduction of more copious and precise phraseology into English, which, as we have seen, Malthus deemed it impossible to conquer, and Mackintosh but faintly hoped some future Bacon might subdue? And how, yet again, are we to account for the steady and successful resistance which our language has made, for the last fifty years, against incorporation with either the peculiar nomenclature of science or that of fashion? In that period, to go no further, a thousand modish ephemeral phrases have striven in vain to mix themselves with the great stream of our language; nor has the unusual popularity of the physical sciences, in the same era, enabled them, dignified and valuable as they are, to wed their phraseology to our common speech."

To minds that have not gone through the difficult and interesting process of mastering the Sanskrit language, these arguments will, I think, hardly appear as convincing as they did to their author, who concludes what he has to say on this topic in the following confident strain: —

"Facts like the above will satisfy all those who are capable of appreciating them, that the people of India would never endure such an *olla podrida* as Anglo-Hindee or Anglo-Hindoosthanee; and that if the vernacular languages of this country are to be preserved, their

improvement, so far as it is requisite to convey European ideas, must be effected in the manner *exacted by the genius of these languages.*"*

I turn from the champion of Sanskrit to the champion of Arabic. Dr. Sprenger lays down three propositions, the two first of which may pass undisputed. They are—

"1. A nation can only be educated in its own language.

"2. The vernacular language must be cultivated and enriched before it can become the medium of civilisation."

His third proposition is—

"3. A vernacular language can only be enriched by opening its natural resources; that is to say, by a profound study of the (dead) language and literature, from which the vernacular derived its words."

Dr. Sprenger thus defends his doctrine, and applies it to the case of British India.

"When a country is conquered by a foreign nation, if the conquerors settle in it, there will invariably rise a new language. Thus it has happened in Europe and in Asia. The grammar will be simplified, because neither party will take the trouble of learning all the minutiæ of a foreign grammar. Words used in common life will be taken from the conquered; for the conqueror merely learns as much as is necessary to give orders to his servants, that is to say, the common expressions, and despises the literature of the conquered. The terms of law and science will be taken

* Page 17.

from the nation who gives the laws, and who, careless of what may exist in the country of religion and science, fosters those which they have themselves imported, and which have given them victory. This is the relation of the words introduced into English by the Normans and of those introduced by the Mahomedans in India into the language which existed in the country before the conquest. If some thousands of English families had settled in India and intermarried with the natives, we should long before this have had a new language, 'Anglo-Indian idiom.'

"As soon as the basis of a language is laid down, it grows like an organic being, according to the development of the nation. It assimilates homogeneous matter, that is to say, words and expressions which are derived from its legitimate (dead) parents; but to believe that much heterogeneous stuff can be assimilated, if it is imported wholesale, is as absurd as to believe that a wooden leg will grow to a stump. As long, therefore, as the Urdoo language continues to be Urdoo, it is not wise to load it with English words. They will only render the style barbarous, and will have all the evil consequences which the admixture of Arabic words with Latin had in the middle ages, which have been exemplified above.

"I have been assured that a native has no difficulty in remembering names like tyroid cartilage, nor do I doubt it; and I even suppose that he connects with the generic name 'cartilage' the same notion as we do; and that he knows that 'tyroid' is merely the specific epithet expressive of the form of that peculiar cartilage. But I should like to see a native write 'tyroid' in Hindoostani, the nearest orthography is تیرویڈ which may be read *teerweed*. It is impossible to write English words in Arabic characters; and if we give to the natives a lingua that

cannot be so written, we throw them back at least three thousand years, when all information was traditional. But even in the pronunciation of English words, most natives are very slow. I only have to mention that they made *simpkin* of *champagne*, to show how they distort words. As for the rest, it will be impossible to prevent the use of English words in the native languages. In botany, for instance, it would be ridiculous to insert a new terminology, the Latin names being acknowledged by all nations of Europe. The same in history; we could not change the names of all our great men in order to please the natives; but we ought to be very sparing in introducing English words. These instances are reasons for changing the alphabet, as I shall have an opportunity of remarking hereafter.

"The best thing to be done to enrich the languages of India, is to imitate the Europeans at the period of the revival of literature. As it has been said, they studied Greek authors, and imported the necessary terms from Greek into Latin, which was then the language of the learned. They were anxious to write a clear style and language, and subsequently, when the Reformation did away with the Latin language, in order to allow every one to improve his mind, the modern languages of Europe were cultivated in the same way as Latin had been cultivated.

"Applying this to India, we observe that the Urdoo is almost every where understood in India, that it has been cultivated to a certain degree by poets, that its ultimate component parts are Sanscrit (through Hindi), the language of the conquered, and Arabic (through Persian) the language of the conquerors, that all words expressive of higher notions are taken from the Arabic, and that therefore Arabic stands in the same relation to Urdoo, as Greek and Latin to the modern languages of Europe. All the words and expressions wanting in Urdoo are therefore

to be taken from the Arabic, as ours are taken from the Greek."

The claims of the Arabic, we see, are much inferior to those of the Sanskrit. All the tongues spoken in the Indian peninsula might be enriched from the latter source. Hindustani alone, or Urdoo, which is the most polished Hindustani, could derive any benefit from the former. Now Hindustani is no genuine Indian language, nor even a genuine member of the Indo-Germanic family. It is a hybrid dialect begotten by a Semitic intruder upon one of the daughters of the Indo-Germanic Sanskrit; and I am by no means sure that Hindi, which furnished the Indo-Germanic element of Hindustani, is not better entitled than Hindustani itself to be taught as the vernacular language in the future University of Agra. I am not, however, competent to pronounce a decision upon this question, and I will assume, for the sake of argument, that the preference is to be given to Hindustani. I cannot think that Dr. Sprenger has shown any sufficient reason why Arabic should be taught for the purpose of supplying scientific terms to Hindustani, and thus making it diverge from all the other languages of the country in the very point in which uniformity, and not diversity, is the desirable thing. In the University of Calcutta (if my petition should be heard) there would be taught English and Bengali; in the University of Madras, English and Tamil; in the University of Bombay, English and Marathi; in the University of Colombo, English and Singhalese. Surely in

the University of Agra English and Hindustani should be taught, unless much stronger arguments can be urged for substituting Arabic in the place of English than Dr. Sprenger has adduced.

The case of the tyroid cartilage, selected, we may presume, as one of the strongest, appears to me a very trifling obstacle. Let a student at Agra pronounce the word *tyroid* as he may, his pronunciation of it will not differ more from ours, than our pronunciation of the multitudinous vocabulary which European science has borrowed from Greek, differs from that of our French, German, or Italian competitors, without any sensible detriment to the sciences, or the languages concerned.

If it really is impossible to write English in Arabic characters, the legitimate consequence is that Arabic characters must be disused, and some other substituted. Hindustani is written by the Hindoos in Nagree characters, with which, I presume, there is no difficulty in writing English words.

As to the distortion of *Champagne* into *Simpkin*, it is like the distortion of *feuille morte* and *quelque chose* into *philomot* and *kickshaws*, in our common English speech. Notwithstanding these ludicrous corruptions, we know very well how to naturalise French words with no more alteration than is necessary to make them consistent parts of English discourse.

The concessions which Dr. Sprenger is obliged to make respecting the terminology of botany will probably be regarded as decisive of the whole

question in the mind of any one who has not, like him, become enamoured of the beauties of Arabic through the profound and successful study of that difficult language.

If any one should desire further information on this subject, I would recommend to him the perusal of Sir Charles Trevelyan's work on the Education of the People of India. The book has probably contributed much to the triumph of correct principles; but the ardent zeal and untiring perseverance of the author, exerted when those principles had few advocates in India, must be reckoned among the most efficacious causes of the great change which I have been describing.

The next great step towards a complete system of public instruction was the institution of scholarships, for which the natives of India are indebted to Lord Auckland, and Sir Edward Ryan, who succeeded Mr. Macaulay as President of the Committee.

The resolution of March 1835, besides deciding the question between the English language on the one hand, and the Sanskrit and Arabic languages on the other, abolished (regard being had to existing interests) the system of stipends, which had previously been carried to a great extent in the colleges devoted to Oriental learning, and had been introduced into those in which the English language was the principal medium of instruction. The number of students receiving stipends in the year 1835 was 855; the amount received by them was 3119 rupees, that is to say, upwards of 300*l.*,

a month. The distribution of this sum was as follows:—

	Rupees.
Calcutta Sanskrit College -	- 537
Benares Sanskrit College -	- 359
Calcutta Madressa - -	- 648
Delhi Madressa - - -	- 642
Agra College - - -	- 481
Benares English Seminary -	- 47
Delhi English Seminary - -	- 245
Calcutta Hindoo College -	- 160
Total - - -	- 3,119

These stipends used to be granted with scarcely any reference to proficiency in the studies of each institution, and used to be held for an indefinite period, whether the stipendiary did or did not make reasonable progress. So that out of the scanty funds devoted to public instruction, more than 3600*l.* a-year, which might have been applied in stimulating and rewarding industry and ability, was utterly thrown away. By the operation of the resolution of March 1835, this worse than useless expenditure gradually diminished, and in the year 1843 had ceased altogether in all the above-mentioned institutions, except the two Sanskrit colleges of Benares and Calcutta, in which a very few students were still receiving stipends in that year. One consequence of the discontinuance of stipends was, that students did not remain nearly so long in the colleges as they had formerly been accustomed to do; and, as the education given in these institutions had now become a powerful instrument for the civilisation of India, it was of great

importance to afford a sufficient motive to the best students for remaining long enough in them to complete the course of education.

Sir Edward Ryan, therefore, with the sanction of Lord Auckland, proposed and carried into effect a plan of scholarships. The principal features of this plan were, that a scholarship could only be gained by passing through a very strict examination; that no candidate could gain a scholarship, whatever might be his superiority over others, unless his knowledge of the different branches of study mentioned in a scheme published by the committee came up to the standard therein described, or unless his knowledge of any one or more of those branches were, in the estimation of the committee, so much above the standard as to compensate for his deficiency in other branches; and that the scholarship should be forfeited unless the holder could show at every annual examination that he had made reasonable progress in his studies.

The senior English scholarships, much the most important, were to be tenable for six years, the holder receiving 30 rupees a month for the first two years, and 40 rupees a month for the last four years. It was necessary to make the remuneration for English scholarships higher than that for Oriental scholarships, because a young man who has had a good English education can so much more easily obtain employment than one who has only received an Oriental education, that it is in a corresponding degree more difficult to retain him in his college.

The standard to which the candidate was required to come up, in order to gain a scholarship, was of course arranged with reference to the state of education when the scholarships were instituted, with the design, however, of gradually raising it. And it has been raised from time to time. One of the most important changes in the original standard has been, that the candidate is required to write an essay in one of the vernacular languages. I happen to have at hand the scheme of study as revised in the year 1846, when I was President of the Council of Education, from which I extract the studies of the college department.

REVISED SCHEME OF STUDY.

COLLEGE DEPARTMENT.

Subjects.	Text Books.	
	First Class.	
Literature -	Richardson's Selections. Shakspeare. Bacon's Advancement of Learning. Bacon's Essays. Bacon's Novum Organum (Calcutta edition). Milton's Poetical Works. Addison's Essays. Johnson's Rambler and Rasselas. Goldsmith's Essays. Hallam's "Literary History of the 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries." Campbell's Rhetoric. Schlegel's History of Literature.	When more than one text book is mentioned on the same subject, in this scheme, the authorities of colleges or schools will be permitted to select the one they prefer.
Mental and Moral Philosophy.	Smith's Moral Sentiments. Abercrombie's Moral and Intellectual Powers (Calcutta edition). Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind. Reid's Inquiry. Reid's Intellectual Powers.	

Subjects.	Text Books.	
History - -	Hume's England. McIntosh's ditto. Gibbon's Rome. Arnold's ditto. Thirlwall's Greece. Robertson's Historical Works. Mill's India. Elphinstone's ditto. Miller's Philosophy of History. Villier's Essay on the Literary and other Effects of the Reformation. Tytler's Universal History.	
Mathematics -	Peacock's Algebra (2nd edition, Part I. only). Hymer's Equations. Hall's Differential and Integral Calculus. Wauld's Algebraical Geometry. Snowball's Trigonometry. Woodhouse's Trigonometry (Modernised). Conics (Whewell's Limits).	
Natural Philosophy.	Mrs. Somerville's Connection of the Physical Sciences. Herschell's Preliminary Discourse. Herschell's Astronomy. Brinkley's Astronomy. Webster's Hydrostatics. Phelps' Optics. Griffin's Optics. Pneumatics (L. U. K.). Treatise on Mathematical and Physical Geography (L. U. K.).	
Political Economy.	Smith's Wealth of Nations, with McCulloch's Notes.	
Logic and Grammar.	Mill's Logic. Whateley's Logic. Latham on the English Language.	
Vernacular -	(Bengalí) Gyanapradip and Annadamangal, and Dewani Hafiz.* (Urdu) Ikhwanussafa and Intíkhabí Souda. (Persian) Akhlaqí Jalali. (Hinduí) Prem Sagur and Sabhabilas. Vernacular Composition and Essay Writing.	* Other works are in preparation, which will be introduced when ready.
	SECOND CLASS.	
Literature -	Bacon's Essays. Addison's Essays.	

Subjects.	Text Books.	
Literature -	Richardson's Selections. Abercrombie's Moral and Intellectual Powers.	
History - -	Tytler's Universal History. Russell's Modern Europe. Robertson's Charles V.	
Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.	Hind's Plane Trigonometry. Snowball's Spherical Trigonometry. Mechanics, Hydrostatics, and Pneumatics (L. U. K.). Mathematical and Physical Geography (L. U. K.).* Traill's Physical Geography. De Morgan's Algebra.	* Murray's Cyclopædia of Geography should be used by the masters of this class, as the text for their lectures.
Logic and Grammar.	Whateley's Easy Lessons in Reasoning. Crombie's Etymology and Syntax.	
Political Economy.	Wayland's.	
Vernacular -	(Bengalí) Betalapanchabinshati and Bastubichar. (Urdu) Dewani Meer and Anwari Soheila. (Hinduí) Beital Pachisi and Braj Bilas. (Persian) Maktubati Allami and Qasaidi Urfi. Vernacular Composition and Essay Writing.	

From this scheme of study it was our custom to select every year the subjects of the scholarship examination for the ensuing year, and to publish them for the guidance of the professors and students. I cannot find any of these selections made during my own presidency, but the two following, which I extract from reports of the Council for the years 1851 and 1852, will convey a notion of the kind and degree of knowledge which a young native is expected to display before he can attain the benefit and the honour of a scholarship.

SENIOR SCHOLARSHIPS. — 1851.

FIRST CLASS. — LITERATURE.

Prose. — Bacon's Novum Organum, 1st Part.

Poetry. — Shakspeare's Hamlet.

History. — Arnold's Lectures on Modern History, except the 2nd and the Appendix to the Inaugural Lecture.

Mental Philosophy. — Stewart's Philosophy of the Human Mind. Introduction and first five Chapters of Part II.

MATHEMATICS.

Differential and Integral Calculus.

Optics (as in Potter).

Astronomy (as in Brinkley).

SECOND CLASS. — LITERATURE.

(*Same as First Class.*)

MATHEMATICS.

Newton's Principia (as in Goodwyn or Evans).

Doctrine of Limits and Elements of Differential and Integral Calculus.

Analytical Geometry and Spherical Trigonometry.

Hydrostatics (as in Webster).

THIRD CLASS. — LITERATURE.

(*Same as First Class.*)

MATHEMATICS.

Conic Sections (as in Goodwyn).

Theory of Algebraical Equations.

Mechanics (as in Potter and Snowball).

FOURTH CLASS. — LITERATURE.

Prose. — Johnson's Rasselas.

Poetry. — Richardson's Selections from Gray and Collins.

History. — Elphinstone's India, Vol. I., except Chapter IV. Book I., and Chapters IV., V., Book II.

Mental Philosophy. — Abercrombie's Intellectual Powers, as far as the end of the first Division of the fourth Section

of Part III.; "Of the Use of Reason in the Investigation of Truth." (Calcutta Edition, page 161.)

MATHEMATICS.

Euclid. Algebra. Plane Trigonometry.

JUNIOR SCHOLARSHIPS.

LITERATURE.

Prose. — Watts on the Improvement of the Mind (Encyclopdæia Bengalensis).

Poetry. — Goldsmith's Traveller and Deserted Village.

Grammar. — Crombie's Etymology and Syntax, Part II.

History. — Stewart's History of Bengal.

Geography and Map Drawing.

MATHEMATICS.

Euclid, Books VI. and XI.

Algebra, to the end of Simple Equations.

Arithmetic, and Elements of the Theory of Numbers.

BENGALI.

Isser Chunder Shurma's Betalpunchabinsatee, 2nd Edition.

Shama Churn Sircar's Grammar, Parts I. and II.

SENIOR SCHOLARSHIPS. — 1852.

FIRST CLASS. — LITERATURE.

Prose. — Johnson's Rambler.

Poetry. — Shakspeare's Macbeth.

History. — Guizot's History of the English Revolution (European Library Edition).

Hallam's Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of Charles I. to the Restoration of Charles II.

Mental Philosophy. — Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, Part I.

Political Economy. — Jones on Rent.

MATHEMATICS.

Differential and Integral Calculus.

Optics (as in Potter).

Astronomy (as in Brinkley).

SECOND CLASS.—LITERATURE.

Same as First Class, with the exception of Hallam and Jones.

MATHEMATICS.

Newton's Principia (as in Goodwyn or Evans).

Doctrine of Limits and Elements of Differential and Integral Calculus.

Analytical Geometry and Spherical Trigonometry.

Hydrostatics (as in Webster).

THIRD CLASS.—LITERATURE.

Prose.—Johnson's Rambler.

Poetry.—Richardson's Selections from Thomson.

History.—Elphinstone's History of India, Vol. II. to the end of Book IX.

Mental Philosophy.—Abercrombie's Moral Feelings. Abercrombie's Intellectual Powers, Part V.

MATHEMATICS.

Conic Sections (as in Goodwyn).

Theory of Algebraical Equations.

Mechanics (as in Potter and Snowball).

FOURTH CLASS.—LITERATURE.

Prose.—Selections from Goldsmith's Essays (Calcutta Edition.)

Poetry.—Richardson's Selections from Thomson.

History.—Elphinstone's History of India, Vol. II. to the end of Book IX.

Mental Philosophy—Abercrombie's Moral Feelings. Abercrombie's Intellectual Powers, Part V.

MATHEMATICS.

Euclid. Algebra. Plane Trigonometry.

JUNIOR SCHOLARSHIPS.

LITERATURE.

Prose.—Moral Tales (Encyclopædia Bengalensis, No. X.)

Poetry.—Selections from Pope, Prior, and Akenside, Poetical Reader, No. III., Part II. (last edition).

History.—Keightley's History of England.
Grammar.—Crombie's Etymology and Syntax, Part III.
Geography and Map Drawing.

MATHEMATICS.

Euclid, Books VI. and XI.
Algebra, to the end of Simple Equations.
Arithmetic and Elements of the Theory of Numbers.

BENGALI.

Isser Chunder Surma's Betal Punchabinsatee (2nd Edition).
Bengali Grammar.

The subjoined document will show how carefully these important examinations are conducted.

1. Sets of questions on the various branches of study in the senior and junior departments, are prepared by the examiners selected by the Council of Education.

2. In Calcutta one of the members of the Council of Education presides at the examination of each day, in the Mofussil a member of the Local Committee performs the same duty; each is furnished with copies of the scholarship questions under a sealed cover, with a superscription specifying the subject of the contained paper, and the day on which it is to be opened in the presence of the scholarship candidates.

3. The students assemble in a room without books, papers, or references of any kind, are not allowed to communicate with each other during the examination, and on that account are placed at a proper distance from each other.

4. They are required to answer the questions, and to write the essays without any assistance whatever: to ensure this, one of the members of the Council remains in the room, and superintends the whole examination.

5. Any attempt at, or practice of unfair means, subjects the offending party to a fine of 100 rupees in cases of senior,

and 50 rupees in cases of junior scholarships: non-payment of the fine within one month subjects the offender to exclusion from the Institution till payment, and no offender is capable of then or again competing for any scholarship.

"6. At the hour fixed for the close of each day's examination, every student delivers his answers, signed by himself, to the superintending member of the Council or Local Committee.

"7. The examiners fix an uniform standard of value for each question according to its importance. A perfectly correct and complete answer obtains the full number of marks attached to the question; an imperfect answer obtains a part only of the full number, in proportion to its approximation to correctness and completeness. At least 50 per cent. of the aggregate number of marks attached to an entire set of examination questions is strictly necessary, to entitle a student either to a senior or junior scholarship, but this rule is sometimes relaxed.

"8. Junior scholars of one year's standing are examined in the junior scholarship papers; 65 per cent. of the maximum number of marks being required to admit of their retaining their scholarships. Junior scholars of two and three years' standing undergo their examinations in the senior scholarship papers; they must obtain 20 and 30 per cent., respectively, of the aggregate number of marks to entitle them to retain their scholarships.

"All senior scholarship-holders pass their examination in the senior scholarship papers. A senior scholar of one year's standing must obtain at least 65 per cent. of the aggregate number of marks allowed, and of all subsequent years at least 75 per cent., to entitle him to retain his scholarship.

"9. No student, not being already a scholarship-holder, or a free-scholar, is allowed to compete for a scholarship whom the Principal of the College or the Head Master of

the School to which he belongs, does not consider competent to attain the requisite standard.

"FRED. J. MOUAT, M. D.,

"*Secretary to the Council of Education.*

"*October*, 1850."

These two capital steps, then, had already been taken when I succeeded to the chair of the Council of Education. The English language had been established as the medium for the communication of knowledge to the natives of India, and the institution of scholarships had furnished inducement to the students to remain in our colleges up to the commencement of manhood, not in idleness like the former receivers of stipends, but with unabated efforts for continual improvement. I had done what I could to assist Mr. Macaulay and Sir Edward Ryan in carrying into effect their wise and beneficent measures; and from the time when I became President of the Council of Education till my departure from India, I went on steadily and zealously endeavouring, with the cordial support of Lord Hardinge, to bring to perfection the system bequeathed to me by them. My views, however, for the future of British India, gradually enlarged themselves; and the possibility opened itself to me of doing for the Indian nations what Rome did for her provinces, and, at the same time, of inviting and assisting the Indian nations to do for themselves what the independent Hellenic tribes, and the independent nations of Christendom, had done for themselves, without help or direction from any pervading and controlling authority. The Greeks composed, in their own vernacular language, from the very beginning, and never,

indeed, composed in any thing else. The still unrivalled Homeric poems were the first fruits of their mental activity, and they attained a perfection which no other people has attained. The Universities of modern Europe neglected and despised the vernacular tongues of their several countries, which, in comparison with the polished languages of classical antiquity, seemed unworthy the consideration of learned men. A long period of darkness, even after learning came to be systematically encouraged by scholastic honours and scholastic emoluments, was the consequence partly of this, and partly of their inevitable devotion to inept and barren studies. For the people of Christendom in the middle ages did not know that grand secret of perpetual activity and perpetual progress, the systematic interrogation of nature; inculcated afterwards with such brilliant success by the spirit-stirring exhortations of Bacon, and the fruitful practice of Galileo. We can teach this secret to the students in our Indian colleges; and we can teach them to study English as Latin and Greek have been studied, since the revival of learning, in the Universities of Christendom, and at the same time to cultivate their own vernacular tongues as the Hellenic tribes cultivated theirs.

As I reflected upon these things it seemed to me to be the clear duty of Great Britain to India to establish Universities, as many in number as the vernacular languages which may be found deserving of cultivation: Universities fostering the study of English as the vehicle of useful and ornamental knowledge, and as exhibiting models of composition

in all kinds: Universities giving, each of them, the most ample encouragement to the improvement of some one vernacular tongue, and to the production in that tongue of compositions, not servilely copied from the English models, but bearing to the mind of each Indian people the same sort of relation as those models bear to the English mind: Universities teaching, through their subordinate colleges, all established truths, and the methods by which new truths may be discovered and established: Universities sending forth into the world young men far advanced in all the various branches of study, and who have received, as the reward of their proficiency, and as a certificate of it to the public, the authentic and conspicuous mark of a scholastic degree.

By the establishment of such Universities, it seemed to be probable, almost certain, that we might call forth much more effectually than Rome could call forth, with its Romanising system, much more rapidly than Greece and Christendom, in the absence of fostering and directing authority, could develop for themselves, whatever there may be of moral and intellectual excellence, of æsthetic and scientific capacity, in the vast and various populations of our Indian empire. The mention of scientific capacity is not in any respect out of place (notwithstanding the rigorous unity of science) in connection with the encouragement of the peculiar and characteristic qualities inherent in different races of mankind; first, because an æsthetic element enters largely into works of science: secondly, because, although truth, when

once discovered and proved, be one and the same for all races; and although we cannot adhere to both Ptolemy and Copernicus, or to the chemistry of phlogiston and the chemistry which has supplanted it, as we may adhere to both Shakspeare and Racine; yet the peculiar qualities of the several races of mankind, as well as the diversities of the soil, climate, and country they dwell in, are of great account in the discovery and establishment of truths not hitherto known and accepted.

I am almost afraid that the grandeur of the prospect thus opened may induce Parliament to suppose that it cannot be realised without an expenditure too great to be contemplated with reference to the financial position of India. But it will appear upon examination that this is not so. I freely admit that I wish to see a large addition made to the sum now devoted to public instruction in India. But the establishment of Universities does not necessarily involve any such addition. The University of Calcutta, as proposed by the Council of Education while I was its President, did not necessarily involve any new expense. The same instruction would be given, by the same professors and masters, in the same buildings, after the establishment of such a University, as now. The University was to consist of examiners, selected, of course, principally on account of their attainments in the several branches of study, but also with some reference to the elevation of their position in society, who were to perform their duty gratuitously. An examination of candidates for degrees in all departments was to be held at least once a year, and the benefits

of the examination were to be extended to all places of education, provided that the candidates conformed to such regulations as might be enacted respecting the course, extent, and duration of study; and produced the requisite certificates. The scheme was prepared by the able and zealous Secretary to the Council of Education, Dr. Frederick Mouat, after considering the scheme of the London and other similar Universities.

I acknowledge, however, that this University of Calcutta was, in my own view, only the beginning of a much larger project, requiring for its completion the establishment of a University at Agra, at Madras, at Bombay, and at Colombo.

It was not possible for me to leave Ceylon out of consideration in this project, although it is not under the government of the East India Company; for Ceylon is the only seat of the Singhalese race, and its northern parts are inhabited by a large, intelligent, and thriving Tamil population, for whom a Tamil branch of the Colombo University might be a better provision than the University of Madras. I have no reason to suppose that the Colonial Office will be found less desirous to improve the Asiatic people who are placed under its care than the Indian home authorities. As a law reformer I have had much experience of both departments, and of the two I have found the Colonial Office much more ready to listen to my suggestions, much less blind to the defects of existing systems, and much less timid in adopting remedies for them.

Four Universities on the continent of India would

be necessary completely to accomplish my project, but that number cannot be considered excessive with reference to a population which is said to amount to one hundred and twenty millions. I shall be quite contented, however, if I now obtain a University of Calcutta, with an admission of the principle that the natives, whose moral and intellectual merits that University certifies to the public by conferring its degrees upon them, shall not be excluded in fact, any more than in law, from the offices hitherto filled by covenanted servants of the East India Company.

The proposition for a University of Calcutta was approved by the government of India, and sent home to the Court of Directors. The answer we received, if my memory does not deceive me, was, that our proposition was premature. I do not know in what sense that answer can be considered a correct one. If the true object of Great Britain in regard to her Asiatic subjects is such as I have described it to be, then I venture to request Parliament to believe, at my peril, that the proposition for a University at Calcutta is not premature. It is a point on which I hold myself competent to pronounce a decision. I was, as I have said, for twelve years a member of the Council of Education, and for five years President of it. From the time of the establishment of scholarships by Sir Edward Ryan till my return to England, I always set the questions in English literature, moral philosophy, and political economy, at the annual examinations; compared the answers of the candidates, and estimated their relative merit. I

have probably conversed with native students more than any other man, except the professors and masters in the colleges and schools. I have repeatedly been asked by students, who had left college, for advice as to the prosecution of their studies. With all deference, therefore, to the superior position of the home authorities, I cannot think that their opinion on this particular point is entitled to more weight than my own.

On the other hand, if the true object of Great Britain, in regard to her Asiatic subjects, is to prevent them from rising above the Hindoo and Mahommedan semi-barbarism in which we found them, or to give them so much European education as will fit them for the offices held by uncovenanted servants, and to cut them off from the moral and intellectual training which would fit them for the offices held by covenanted servants, then the establishment of a University at Calcutta is not premature; but is, and will for ever continue to be, inexpedient and mischievous.

I could do no more, while in India, towards the institution of this much-desired University, than urge the government of India to recommend it to the home authorities; but my position seemed to enable me, without appeal to any higher power, to exhort with effect the students of our colleges to turn their attention to the improvement of their own language and the instruction of their own countrymen. A favourable opportunity of doing this presented itself by the publication of a new edition of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, as translated by Dr. Peter Shaw, with the object of making it a

class-book. Mr. Kerr, the principal of the Hindoo College, undertook to edit the book and to add such notes as might increase its fitness for that particular purpose. Mr. Kerr having requested from me something in the nature of a preliminary discourse, I complied with his wish, and seized the occasion of opening to the students of our colleges a view of their own future position as the instructors of their race, carrying the assurance of reality as being reflected from actual experience, yet grand and vivid enough to stimulate vehemently the generous ambition of young and ardent minds. My discourse was as follows:—

"*From the President of the Council of Education to the Students under its Superintendence.*

"THIS translation of Bacon's Novum Organum, which has been reprinted and illustrated with notes by Mr. Kerr, the Principal of the Hindoo College, comes forth under happy auspices.

"For, while it was in preparation, the Resolution of Government, dated 10th October, 1844, was published to the world.

"It is to Sir Henry Hardinge that you owe the public and solemn announcement of the great principle, that 'In every possible case a preference shall be given, in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who have been educated in the Institutions established for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.'

"Be thankful for the respect thus shown for learning, and evince your gratitude by redoubled exertions, the rather that you are indebted to the Governor-General,

not only for holding out to you this incentive, but also for not holding it out to you alone, — for giving you as competitors in the race, all your countrymen who have been trained to it, no matter where they have been trained; and thus saving you from the pride and the indolence which those who enjoy a monopoly can hardly escape from.

"But do not imagine, that the sole or the main use of a liberal education is to fit yourselves for the public service; or, rather, do not imagine that the public can only be served by the performance of duties in the offices of Government.

"I would rather see you grateful for this Resolution, as a proof of the high esteem in which learning is held by your present ruler, than as a promise of the reward by which learning is to be requited.

"The highest reward of learning, it is not in the power of any ruler, however benevolent and however enlightened, to bestow.

"The improvement of mankind, of that portion of mankind which is placed within our reach and influence; the internal peace, and happiness, and dignity, which result to those who have laboured to bring about that improvement, — these are the most genuine, the most elevated, the fullest recompence of a life devoted to study.

"The enviable power of contributing to the improvement of large masses of mankind, appears to me to be conferred upon such of you as are animated by that desire, in unusually large measure by the peculiarity of your position.

"Placed as you are between the learning of Europe and the mass of your countrymen, you may make yourselves their benefactors, to an incalculable extent, by interpreting to them, in your vernacular tongue, what you have learnt in England.

"In this respect your position is very analogous to that of European men of letters, at the revival of learning.

"There is, however, this remarkable difference, that,

whereas the renovation of Europe by the communication of Greek and Roman literature and civilization did not take place till the sources had been first corrupted, then dried up, and lastly, overwhelmed and ruined as by an earthquake; the native races of this Indian peninsula have the opportunity of possessing themselves of the literature and civilization of modern Europe, while the streams are still flowing from their fountains with undiminished fulness, and untainted purity.

"The consequence of this is, that while the two careers which, at the period I speak of, were opened to the studious minds of modern Europe, soon lost their attractive power, or ceased to be fruitful; no corresponding changes can be foreseen in the two corresponding careers which have lately been opened to you.

"The Latin was a dead language: no one, therefore, could be sure of applying it, with classical elegance and propriety, to the new subjects which were constantly arising for discussion. No one could attain that intimate familiarity with it which we acquire by conversing with instructed men in their own mother tongue.

"And as Latin was no where known to the unlearned, no one, who desired that his doctrines should sink deep into the masses of mankind, could accomplish his purpose with that instrument. There was no nation which could be addressed in Latin: whoever was not satisfied, unless he had a nation for his audience, could not be satisfied with Latin for the vehicle of his thoughts.

"Bacon, though he took care that his works should not lose the advantage of a learned dress, yet wrote most of them, originally, in English.*

"Sir Thomas Browne hesitated between Latin and

* "In the same manner (if I do not mistake), Josephus and Philo published their works both in Greek and in the language of their countrymen. It is very interesting to observe these coincidences."

English, but decided in favour of his own language*: and, after Milton, I do not recollect that there is any work of distinguished merit, addressed by an Englishman to the general reader, in Latin prose.

"There were no doubt other causes, but the above mentioned I conceive are the principal ones why that mode of addressing the Republic of letters was soon abandoned, notwithstanding the advantage which Latin, from its universality, had over the modern tongues.

"And, again, when once the large but still limited stock of valuable knowledge which had accumulated in the Greek and Latin, had been transfused into the languages of the people, that use of the classical languages was at an end.

"We Europeans continue to learn Greek and Latin (I hope we always shall continue), for the mental discipline which the study affords, and that we may enjoy the unrivalled beauties of the classical writers.

"But we no longer write Latin except as an exercise; and all that was known to antiquity may now be known through modern languages.

"The case is different with you and the language of

* "The passage from which we learn this, is in the Preface to his 'Enquiries into vulgar and common errors,' and it is so curious and illustrative that I will quote it.

"'Our first intention considering the common interest of truth, resolved to propose it to the Latin Republic and equal Judges of Europe; but owing in the first place this service unto our country, and therein especially unto its ingenious Gentry, we have declared ourself in a language best conceived. Although I confess the quality of the subject will sometimes carry us into expression beyond mere English apprehensions; and indeed if elegancy still proceedeth, and English pens maintain that stream we have of late observed to flow from many, we shall within a few years be fain to learn Latin to understand English, and a work will prove of equal facility in either.'

England. That is a living language. No cause can now be discerned why it should ever die.

"No period, therefore, can be foreseen when you will no longer be able to address in English a public to whom it is vernacular.

"The discoveries, too, which are made from day to day by the learned of all Europe are described by the English writers; so that such of you as are led by philanthropy to watch over the education of your race, have before you a journey which is endless, and in which every step promises you a pure and glorious reward.

"And here, as inventive genius is not required, you may, even with moderate abilities, if seconded by industry, render incalculable services to your countrymen. You may reveal to them all that was discovered or invented by Greece and Rome, and all that has since been discovered or invented, and all that may hereafter be discovered or invented by that great cluster of energetic nations which, spread over Europe from the Frozen Ocean to the Mediterranean, are for ever contesting with each other the palm of learning, of art, and civilization.

"Whether any still higher destiny than this is reserved for that Anglo-Indian people which as yet exists only in its rudiments, is to me a subject of deeply interesting, but, I must acknowledge, obscure speculation.

"I think I can foresee that its language of scholarship and of public business will be English; that its scholars, speaking a variety of vernacular tongues, will communicate with each other in English; that Shakspear, Milton, and Bacon will supply it with those profound and striking maxims, by an appeal to which a long explanatory discourse is often saved, and which are to the learned what proverbs are to the vulgar, and with those energetic expressions, never forgotten when once learnt, which fill at once the mind with ideas and the heart with emotions.

"All this seems to me to be now discernible in its causes. But what this Anglo-Indian nation is destined to

create in English, or in its own vernacular languages, whether it will produce any thing at once new and important in literature and philosophy, in jurisprudence or social science, — these are questions which I cannot pretend to answer.

"But though I cannot answer these questions, I cannot refrain from meditating upon them. While I was so engaged I met with the following passage in Dr. Arnold's admirable Lectures upon History: —

" 'This leads us to a view of modern history which cannot indeed be confidently relied on, but which still impresses the mind with an imagination, if not with a conviction of its reality. I mean that modern history appears to be not only a step in advance of ancient history, but *the* last step; it appears to bear marks of the fulness of time, as if there would be no future history beyond it. For the last eighteen hundred years, Greece has fed the human intellect; Rome, taught by Greece and improving upon her teacher, has been the source of law and government and social civilization; and what neither Greece nor Rome could furnish, the perfection of moral and spiritual truth, has been given by Christianity. The changes which have been wrought, have arisen out of the reception of these elements by new races; races endowed with such force of character that what was old in itself, when exhibited in them, seemed to become something new. But races so gifted are, and have been from the beginning of the world, few in number: the mass of mankind have no such power; they either receive the impression of foreign elements so completely, that their own individual character is absorbed, and they take their whole being from without; or, being incapable of taking in higher elements, they dwindle away when brought into the presence of a more powerful life, and become at last extinct altogether. Now, looking anxiously round the world for any new races which may receive the seed (so to speak) of our present history into a kindly yet a vigorous soil, and may reproduce it, the same

and yet new, for a future period, we know not where such are to be found. Some appear exhausted, others incapable, and yet the surface of the whole globe is thrown open to us.'

"I may be mistaken, but I am impressed with the belief that the races which occupy British India are neither exhausted nor incapable.

"The discoveries of the Hindoos*, in pure mathematics, sufficiently attest the aptitude of the Indian races for that kind of intellectual pursuit. The inventive powers displayed in the Hindoo epics and dramas, may be reasonably expected to produce great works of art, when they are chastened and restrained by the fine taste and resolute abstinence from the extravagant which, as far as we know, have never been possessed by any nation but the Greeks, and those who have learned them from the Greeks. The Sanscrit language, I am told, is an instrument of thought not inferior to the Greek. The people whose thoughts required and produced such an organ to express themselves, cannot naturally hold a low place among the varieties of mankind.

"Sanscrit literature and science is the evidence of what Indian minds could do by the mere force of reflection, without any sustained and accurate examination of nature, and moving under the fetters imposed upon them by a blind veneration for antiquity; and from all I have heard of this literature and science, and from the little I have seen in translations, I should say that they give high promise of what Indian minds may perform, when filled with knowledge derived from the study of nature, and expatiating with the intellectual freedom which they cannot fail to learn from the speculations of our great English authors.

"I know it may be objected that the Sanscrit poets have wasted their ingenuity in endless alliterations, and in that

* "I say nothing of Mahommedan literature and science, for they were not the creation of Indian races.

futile and tasteless creation of all sorts of difficulties for the mere purpose of overcoming them, of which they appear so proud, and which would have been looked upon by the great writers of Greece and Rome with the deepest scorn. But no conclusive inference can be drawn from this against the capacity of the Sanscrit writers or their posterity for the highest literary achievements; for the European writers of the dark ages played just the same unworthy tricks with Latin, when it came into their hands, as the Sanscrit writers played with their own language; yet these early European writers were of the same race with the men who afterwards created the literatures of England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

"The moral qualities of the Indian races are not less remarkable. The patience, perseverance, and self-denial which in Faquirs and Gosains have been wasted upon worthless and pernicious objects, may surely be expected, when well directed, to produce notable effects.

"The love of established custom which is so peculiarly characteristic of the Indian people, though it stands in the way of reform where reform is needed, would be an admirable security for the permanence of beneficent institutions once established.

"I, then, am much disposed to believe that there is, in the people who inhabit this great peninsula, sufficient force of character, and sufficient difference from the European races, to make it probable that great changes will be wrought in the elements which the Indian subjects of Great Britain are now receiving under her instruction, and that, 'what is old in itself, when exhibited in them, will seem to become something new.'

"These, however, are visions of remote futurity, which must of necessity be dim and uncertain. I return to nearer and less obscure prospects.

"Besides the public service, and the pursuits of literature and science, there are open to you the learned professions, law, medicine, the highly honourable profession

of a teacher, and that which has but lately become a profession, civil engineering.

"I know it is thought by many that we neglect unwarrantably to give that special instruction, which is necessary to fit young men for the practice of a profession.

"The value of professional instruction is indisputable; but I differ entirely from those who think that such instruction should supersede the general education which is given in our colleges.

"Bacon and Adam Smith, Shakspeare and Milton, they say, will not make a man a lawyer, or a surgeon, or an engineer, or a merchant.

"Most true. But they will make a man what it is surely essential that he should be, whatever calling he may follow. They will make him a moral and intellectual being.

"It is their office to preserve him from that narrowness of mind, which is apt to be caused by exclusive devotion to mere professional studies; and to arm him against those temptations to swerve from the path of rectitude, which will beset him more or less in all walks of life.

"I, therefore, while I rejoice in the success of the Medical College which we owe to Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland, and while I look forward with anxious hope to the chairs of Jurisprudence and of Civil Engineering, whose foundation will illustrate the rule of Sir Henry Hardinge, should deeply lament to see our Mathematics, our Natural and Moral Philosophy, our Poetry, and our History deserted for these professional studies.

"I do now lament that our medical students are not more advanced in general education before they enter the college where their whole time must be devoted to Pharmacy and Anatomy. This may be necessary for the present objects of the college; but I shall not be satisfied

till we can send out physicians and surgeons who shall also be, as in Europe, accomplished men of letters.

"I should feel this still more strongly as regards my own profession. As much as I should rejoice to see the bar of India supplied with native gentlemen, elevated and purified by all polite learning, and trained to apply the great and beneficent principles of law and jurisprudence to the complicated affairs of a busy and improving community; as much as I should rejoice in this, so deeply should I deplore if, instead of this, we were to fill the courts with pettifoggers, ignorant of everything but rules and forms, acts and regulations and reports, their wits sharpened by the study of hair-splitting distinctions and captious objections, stirring up litigation to make their own fortunes out of it, or, at best, if they should think of duty at all, thinking only of their duty to their clients, and forgetting that any is owing to truth and justice.

"This naturally leads me to speak of the book which has been here prepared for you, Lord Bacon's *Novum Organum*. We shall be perhaps asked, what is the use of it, and how you are to turn to account what you may acquire from it. Certainly I cannot encourage you to hope that the knowledge you will acquire from this book will enable you to gain a livelihood. You will not be able to turn that knowledge into rupees. I hope, however, they are under a mistake who suppose this to be the sole object for which the natives of India desire an English education.

"I cannot even assert, that Bacon's *Novum Organum* is a necessary passport to the science and philosophy of modern Europe. I must even admit, that the method of induction in its most perfect form is not the method now most essential to the progress of mankind in knowledge. It is right you should be made aware of this; and I will therefore quote from a very profound and comprehensive work, Mr. John Stuart Mill's System of Logic, a passage which, I believe, places the matter in its true light.

"'The copiousness with which I have exemplified the discovery and explanation of special laws of phenomena, by deduction from simpler and more general ones, was prompted by a desire to characterise clearly, and place in its due position of importance, the deductive method, which in the present state of knowledge is destined irrevocably to predominate in the course of scientific investigation from this time forward.

"'A revolution is peaceably and progressively effecting itself in philosophy, the reverse of that to which Bacon has attached his name. That great man changed the method of the sciences from deductive to experimental, and it is now rapidly reverting from experimental to deductive. But the deductions which Bacon abolished were from premises hastily snatched up or abitrarily assumed. The principles were neither established by legitimate canons of experimental inquiry, nor the results tested by that indispensable element of a rational deductive method, verification by specific experience.

"'Between the primitive method of deduction, and that which I have attempted to define, there is all the difference which exists between the Aristotelian physics, and the Newtonian theory of the heavens.

"'That the advances henceforth to be expected even in physical, and still more in mental and moral science, will be chiefly the result of deduction, is evident from the general considerations already adduced.

"'Among subjects really accessible to our faculties, those which still remain in a state of dimness and uncertainty (the succession of their phenomena not having yet been brought under fixed and recognisable laws) are mostly those of a very complex character, in which many agents are at work together, and their effects in a constant state of blending and intermixture. The disentangling of these crossing threads is a task attended with difficulties, which, as we have already shown, are susceptible of solution by the instrument of deduction alone. Deduction is the great

scientific work of the present and of future ages. The portion henceforth reserved for specific experience in the achievements of science, is mainly that of suggesting hints to be followed up by the deductive inquirer, and of confirming or checking his conclusions.'

"It is right, I say, that you should be made aware of this, and that you should be forewarned not to seek in Lord Bacon's work for what is not to be found there.

"But notwithstanding all this, I have encouraged Mr. Kerr to undertake this task, on which he has bestowed, and in my judgment successfully bestowed, very great labour and attention; and I now, with perfect confidence and with much earnestness, exhort you to make yourselves masters of the book.

"Bacon's great merit in philosophy was, that he forced upon the attention of men, and convinced them by his profound reasoning and his grand and weighty eloquence, that there is no other way of acquiring the materials of science, but the interrogation of nature; and that to interrogate nature effectually, we must do so according to a scientific method.

"There are no doubt defects in the scientific method sketched by himself, and he had no great success in arriving at useful practical results. But it is not too much to say, that the whole of the vast difference which exists between the natural philosophy (including the philosophies both of mind and matter) of the ancient and the modern European world, is to be attributed to that change in the direction of intellectual effort which was produced, I do not say by Bacon alone, but by Bacon more than any other man, and by this book more than any other book.

"It was the trumpet which roused Europe, not indeed from torpid slumber, but from idle and fantastic dreams, such as Asia is still dreaming; from which she has still to be awakened.

"I have heard it said, that if the *Novum Organum* were fit for a class-book, it would surely have been so

employed in England. Perhaps the reason it has not been so employed is, that the Latin in which it is written is much more strongly characterised by the profound and pregnant genius of the great author, than by resemblance to the classical models of Augustan Rome.

"But whatever may be the cause, there is not wanting authority of the highest order, in favour of using this as a class-book for the instruction of youth.

"Professor Dugald Stewart, Mr. Hallam, and Dr. Arnold, have all recommended it; and I think the authority of three such men is of more weight than the opposing practice.

"But even if I had not these eminent names to support me, I should not have feared to recommend the adoption of this work as a class-book in our colleges; because I am sure that a mind which has deeply meditated and comprehended the aphorisms of the *Novum Organum*, and has imbibed their spirit, is a mind prepared to undergo toil and privation in the search for truth, a mind to which no intellectual struggle, however long and arduous, can be so distasteful as acquiescence in ignorance or in error.

"C. H. CAMERON.

"Calcutta, June, 1845."

I must add a few words here supplementary to what I said in 1845. The early literature of the Hindoos shows decisively that there was formerly no want of capacity in some of the Indian races.

But when I ventured, notwithstanding Dr. Arnold's authority, to express my opinion, that the races which occupy British India are neither exhausted nor incapable, I ought to have given my reasons for the former, as well as for the latter opinion. Want of leisure for investigation and reflection obliged me to content myself with an

appeal to the literary fame acquired by Hindoo writers in remote ages. But I have since reflected maturely on the subject, and am satisfied that there is no evidence of such exhaustion in the Indian races as should prevent the sort of reproduction that Dr. Arnold was thinking of. I now, therefore, say again, as I said eight years ago, "I am much disposed to believe that there is in the people who inhabit this great peninsula, sufficient force of character, and sufficient difference from the European races, to make it probable that great changes will be wrought in the elements which the Indian subjects of Great Britain are now receiving under her instruction, and that 'what is old in itself, when exhibited in them, will seem to become something new.'" And I think I can fortify my opinion in such a manner that no one, who would have assented to it, if I had been speaking of the generations in which the Sanskrit literature flourished, need shrink from admitting that opinion to be true of their descendants, because they have long ceased to produce any thing at all comparable to that manifestation of intellectual and imaginative power.

The ground of my conviction is, that the only supposed cases of exhaustion are those of the Greek and Roman races under the empire, and that we can show regarding the latter, that their exhaustion, such as it was, did not prevent them from exhibiting to the modern world the stores which they had preserved from the ruin of the ancient, in new aspects and new combinations of extraordinary splendour and variety.

The exhaustion of the Greeks in thus described by Gibbon in his 53rd chapter:-

"They held in their lifeless hands the riches of their fathers without inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred patrimony: they read, they praised, they compiled, but their languid souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution of ten centuries not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added to the speculative systems of antiquity, and a succession of patient disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next servile generation. Not a single composition of history, philosophy, or literature, has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation."

In this condition the Greeks remained till their subjugation by the Turks, an event which crushed whatever energy may have been latent in them for several centuries, though, we may hope, not for ever.

The subjugation of the Latin half of the Roman world by the warlike races who invaded it from the north, had a very different effect. It produced, after a long and dreary interval, those masterpieces of art and that wonderful scientific development on which the foremost nations of the earth now justly pride themselves. And it is most important to the present argument to remark that the revival of letters commenced in that part of the former Roman Empire which received the smallest infusion of foreign elements, in which the population was most thoroughly Roman, and in which the language

employed to express the new forms of thought was very little else than transfigured Latin.

If we could only appeal to Germany, where nearly every thing Roman was swept away with the legions of Quintilius Varus; or to Britain, although the Romans left deep traces in Britain; or even to Gaul, although there the Romans left still deeper traces; the new Teutonic element might be held to account sufficiently for the new products which, after a long interval, followed its introduction.

But while these were still latent in their seeds, or displayed only in the gay but idle efflorescence of the troubadour minstrelsy, Italian literature had sprung up in amazing vigour and luxuriance, and demonstrated for us that the people of Italy, who had seemed, like the Byzantine Greeks, to have become unfit for any thing nobler than reading, praising, and compiling, were in truth still teeming with original genius. This genius, which, so long as it used only the classical medium, could do no more than servilely copy the great classics; yet failed not, when it threw itself into new vernacular forms, to delight and to astonish the world.

The soil was exhausted as regards classical seed, but full of productive vigour as regards the new vernacular seed; as a field worn out by incessant harvests of wheat is still found capable of sending up luxuriant crops of lucerne.

We cannot, indeed, assert with confidence that no part of the new mental vigour displayed in Italy was produced by the infusion of Lombard or Ostrogothic blood. But since the nations which

received a much larger infusion of new blood than the Italians, awakened from their torpor, not earlier, but much later, we have sufficient ground to conclude that the Roman element, which bore in Italy so much larger a proportion than elsewhere to the barbaric, had not become incapable of sending forth vigorous shoots when a stimulus was applied to it wholly different from that to which it had grown insensible.

Now thus it may be too, and thus it probably is, with the people of India. I can see nothing in the history of the human race, or in the known laws of the human mind, that should forbid us to expect from the inhabitants of *that* vast region (barren as they have become of works after the Sanskrit type) a fertility corresponding in novelty and copiousness to the novelty and the exciting nature of the circumstances that now surround them.

A highly organised race, a language capable with due culture of expressing all that is graceful and lofty in human thought, together with free access to works of the highest art expressed in another language, and embodying forms of thought such as to suggest to the new candidates for fame the ambition of producing, not servile copies, but corresponding manifestations of a new and different energy; these seem to me to be the conditions of a new intellectual development. And when these coexist, I am no believer in the doctrine that exhaustion of the race can make their combination abortive.

The publication of my address to the students produced an immediate application from the

Reverend Krishna Mohun Banerjea, a Brahman who is now a clergyman of the Church of England He had been for several years animated by th desire of transferring the history and science o Europe into the Bengali language. He had, how ever, found difficulties in his way which had force him to set aside the project as impracticable —"But the encouragement lately held out by th government of Bengal induced me" (so he says i the dedication, to Lord Hardinge, of his "Ency clopædia Bengalensis") "to revive and revise tha plan, and to commence an effort, in humble de pendence on the grace of God, at embodying th history, science, mathematics, &c. of Europe in ou vernacular dialect." His application to me wa for permission to translate my address to the stu dents, and to prefix it to his proposed "Encyclo pædia Bengalensis." But a much more importan result ensued from the correspondence which tool place respecting his work between the governmen of Bengal and the council of education. It wa arranged that a large number of copies should b taken by the council for the use of the institution under its care, the selection of the subjects to b treated, and the English portion of the work, being submitted for approval to the president.

Ten volumes of this Encyclopædia have beer published, and a great variety of interesting sub jects have thus been made accessible to the Bengal race. I shall make two extracts from this book The first is taken from the introductory remark on the study of history. It is very short, and call attention to it as showing how justly a nativ

of India can appreciate the vast importance to his country of its connection with Europe. Krishna Mohun Banerjea, after quoting those observations in Dr. Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History," which show so well that the line separating the ancient from the modern history of Europe is not arbitrary, but justified by a real difference between them, proceeds thus:—

"The history of our own country, too, may be appropriately divided into ancient and modern, dating the latter from the period when it first became connected with Europeans. This connection has caused, and will yet cause, such great changes, physical as well as moral, in the general aspect of the country, and in the character of its inhabitants, that the historian of India will be led almost insensibly to regard the period of her connection with Europeans as a *broad line* of demarkation between the ages which preceded, and those which followed this great event."*

The other extract I shall make is from a letter which the reverend author addressed to myself and printed at the beginning of his second volume. It will not be uninteresting to any one who cares to see what difficulties the author had to encounter in his endeavour to make Bengali a fit instrument for the expression of literary and scientific matter, and what means occurred to him for overcoming them:

"My Encyclopædia is, as you are aware, intended especially for Bengali readers, and therefore my attention is first and principally directed to the Bengali. However important the object which the English is intended to

* Encyclopædia Bengalensis, vol. i. p. 37.

subserve may be, it is subordinate to the Bengali. The Diglot edition is indeed designed to promote the study of *both* English and Bengali, to accelerate the progress of the native mind in the *two careers*, as you called them in your address to students, now open to Indian scholars in the province of Bengal. Still the Bengali is in my work the more important of the two.

"My effort has been, and shall continue to be, to present the history and science of Europe in as attractive and simple a dress as the subjects and the state of the Bengali language will allow. With this view it has been my practice to hear portions of my MSS. read by pundits and other vernacular scholars — to note the passages where they might happen to stumble in the course of an unpremeditated reading — to introduce improvements where the passages required to be amended — to ask the opinion of learned scholars where difficulties presented themselves — and in these ways to render the work as elegant and perspicuous as circumstances would allow. The introductory Essay on the Study of History, and the History of Rome, in the first number, I had tested in these several ways, and may perhaps state, without the guilt of presumption, that the experiments proved all very favourable. My plan in historical narratives is to adopt as simple a style as possible. Where words are required that are not in common use, I draw from the Sanscrit, if that can be readily done, without having recourse to far-fetched inventions. Where an idea can be easily expressed by a Persian or Hindoostani word already current, I make no scruple to adopt it, in case no Sanscrit or Bengali word can be found equally apt for the purpose. Where Persian or Hindoostani words have been almost naturalised in Bengali, I do not fastidiously reject them, even though there may be corresponding Bengali words with the same meaning. In such cases I use the Bengali and the Hindoostani indifferently, only taking care not to shock my readers by disregarding their taste in this respect. The word *thou-*

sand, for instance, I have sometimes translated by *hazar*, sometimes by *sahasra*. It is, I think, an advantage, where foreign words may be introduced into a language such as the Bengali now is, consistently with perspicuity and without shocking the national feelings of the people. This is, I think, the legitimate way of enriching the vocabulary of such a language. Where a Sanscrit word, though expressing originally the idea I intend to convey, has, by the lapse of ages, obtained a different signification, I do not hesitate to use some popular term, having the same meaning, though it may be of foreign derivation. I have for instance generally translated *ship* by *jahaj*, though this is neither Sanscrit nor Bengali, because the Sanscrit *nauka*, though exactly corresponding to the Latin *navis*, is now used in Bengali to express a *boat* rather than a *ship*.

"Scientific terms I borrow from the English when the Sanscrit fails to produce any, either ready-made or capable of being easily invented. In geometry and algebra, however, I have scarcely experienced any difficulty in procuring terms, since the Sanscrit vocabulary here is very full. The *Lilavati*, the *Viganita*, the *Goladhyaya*, have supplied me with almost every thing I wanted. The *Rekha Ganita*, or Euclid in Sanscrit, and Colebrooke's Algebra, have been of great use to me in this number on geometry. A number of terms proposed by the accomplished *Bapu Deva* of the Sanscrit College, Benares, and obligingly sent to me by the late principal of that institution, has also been of great service. Still, however, I have been obliged to transfer one or two European expressions to the Bengali. The word *Rhombus*, for instance, is rendered in the Sanscrit Euclid by such a cumbrous term, that I thought it would be better to adopt the European expression itself, and explain it in the definition, than introduce a long unclassical Sanscrit term.* If ῥομβος or ῥεμβω conveyed any

* The word for rhombus in the Sanscrit Euclid is Vishamakonasama-chaturbhujam, literally, unequal-angled-equi-quadrilateral. — Note by K. M. Banerjea.

meaning that would render the idea of an equilateral parallelogram obvious I would think of inventing a word which might have the same radical signification.

"The favourable reception which the first number has obtained from the native community, may, I presume, be considered an auspicious commencement. Upwards of two hundred copies have been disposed of, chiefly among native purchasers; and, if the demand from this quarter continue as great as it has hitherto been, the first number will be out of print before the second makes its appearance. The native press has likewise pronounced a very favourable verdict. I have not seen the criticisms of the native editors in the original, but, agreeably to the accounts which the English papers have given, they are encouraging to the undertaking."

The author was quite right, I believe, in having recourse at his need to English, Sanskrit, Persian, and Hindustani. A similar freedom has assuredly contributed to the richness and variety of our own language. I must not omit to mention, before I take leave of the "Encyclopædia Bengalensis," that Krishna Mohun Banerjea having sent, through Lord Hardinge, a copy of his book to Sir Robert Peel, received from that lamented statesman a letter full of cordial sympathy and encouragement.

Such was the state of education in English at Calcutta, and the progress made in cultivating the Bengali language, when I left India. The same system has, as I learn both from private information and from the Reports of the Council of Education, been vigorously and successfully prosecuted by my successors. I am not conversant with the details of education at Bombay; but I know that, under the presidency of Sir Erskine Perry, the

English language has there assumed nearly the same position as it occupies in Bengal. Two years ago, on my return from visiting some property I have in Ceylon, I touched at Bombay, and took the opportunity of visiting the Elphinstone College, and examining the students. I found them far advanced in the same road, though not so far advanced as the students I had been accustomed to examine at the Hindoo and Hoogly Colleges of Bengal. Of Madras I can say little. I believe that Mr. Norton, the Advocate-General there, has taken great pains with the education of the natives, and Mr. Daniel Eliott, a member of council, who was my colleague in the Law Commission, and who used to afford very valuable assistance in our scholarship examinations at Calcutta, does, I have no doubt, all in his power to forward the same cause in his own presidency. In the north-western provinces of the Bengal presidency great attention is paid, I believe, to vernacular schools, but English education has not made such progress as it has in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and Bombay. The natives, it is alleged, are much less sensible than those who inhabit the last-mentioned places, how important a benefit the British government offers them in the shape of European literature and science.

But a more just appreciation of that benefit may be expected gradually to extend to our extreme north-western frontier; and in its train will follow a sense of the real advantage enjoyed by those eastern nations who form part of the British empire, if we treat them as equals, when by

European education we shall have made them so. I have shown in the beginning of this address how this enlightened policy caused the nations composing the Roman empire to recognise the advantage of their position. But if we, besides conferring upon our dependent nations the benefits which Rome conferred upon hers, should also help them to do for themselves what it would behove them to do if independent; it is surely not unreasonable to expect that they will recognise the greater and less alloyed advantage accruing to them as parts of our British empire. Let us suppose the five universities established, and the five vernacular languages duly cultivated. Let us suppose every educated native an English scholar, and capable of composing with elegance in one of the Indian tongues. It would seem that the variety and emulation which were wanting in the Roman world, and the want of which produced the fatal decay of all its parts, would, in this system of Anglo-Indian nations, be combined in the happiest manner with the unity which is wanting in modern Europe, contemplated as a system of nations, and with reference to any conceivable standard of European good and advancement. We have paid a price for our separate nationalities. Savage anarchy, mitigated only by a very precarious respect for international law and morality, has over and over again distracted and disfigured the fairest regions of the world. At this moment, it is felt to be necessary that we should prepare ourselves against the chance of an unprovoked invasion from the most powerful and

most civilised of the Continental nations. Even in time of peace hostile tariffs and laws oppressive to aliens have been made by each separate people, with the avowed object of depressing and impoverishing its neighbours. The doctrines of political economy have, indeed, opened the eyes of British statesmen to the true interests of their country; but, in former days, the foreigner used to be spoken of as a personage upon whom it was the duty of every true patriot to inflict as much as possible of what the lawyers call *damnum absque injuriâ;* that is to say, every kind and degree of mischief, not amounting to a breach of international law. In Tuscany the Madiai are condemned to a loathsome dungeon for doing what would be esteemed laudable in Great Britain or Prussia, and ought to be esteemed innocent everywhere. On every frontier of the Continent a vexatious police interferes with the free movements of travellers. I believe that we are approaching a better era, when we shall enjoy in peace and mutual goodwill our distinct nationalities. But the Indian nations, if left to themselves, would be far enough from such halcyon days. They are saved from the distempers I have enumerated, by the all-pervading power of the British government, as amongst themselves they are secure, under the mild sceptre of Queen Victoria, of free ingress and egress, of free commercial intercourse, of uninterrupted peace. All that is harsh and hateful is excluded from their rivalry by the beneficent vigour of the power which is ruling, instructing, and civilising them; while, in all that can excite an emulation at once

noble and innocuous, they are left unconstrained: they are not merely left unconstrained, but are encouraged to the free development of the characteristic qualities which have been implanted in each of them, as a distinct people, by the Almighty Ruler of the universe.

The present address relates only to the education of the natives and their official employment, so that it is not the place to describe in detail what the legal system of India would become, if the recommendations of the Law Commission should be attended to. But in order that it may be seen, in outline at least, what India (according to my conception of the duty of Great Britain towards her) might be made by public instruction and by legislation, I may say that, by the scheme of the Law Commission, the present uncertainty, confusion, and groundless diversity will be entirely removed. Every Hindoo will find, in every part of India (due regard being had to local peculiarities), the same Hindoo law in the form of a written code. Every Mahommedan will find, in like manner, the same Mahommedan law in a similar form. Every man, who is not a Hindoo or Mahommedan, will find the Law Commission's *lex loci* also in the form of a written code. This *lex loci* may be described as so much of the rules of morality, sanctioned by the authority, and systematised by the sagacity of English judges, chancellors, and parliaments, as can be conveniently enforced in courts of justice, together with such arbitrary rules, as, for example, the rule which regulates the distribution of an intes-

tate's property, as are subsidiary to the rules of morality. These three codes will be arranged upon the same plan, so that their correspondence or discrepancy can be discerned at a glance. The Law Commission's penal code will constitute the whole penal law of the empire. The three civil codes and the one penal code will be administered, according to one scheme of procedure, by judges, European and native, who have devoted their lives to their profession, associated with a select portion of the public, and superintended by one great court in each presidency, composed of the present judges of the Supreme Court and of the Suddur Court.

The judges, of all grades, should be indiscriminately European and native; but this is a state of things to which we can only approach by degrees, and by means of the highest education. I am not at all sure that we have not gone too far in the official employment of natives without preparing them by European training. In a report which I made more than twenty years ago to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the judicial establishments of Ceylon, I said,—"My anxiety for the improvement of the natives of India does not blind me to the marked distinctions which exist between them in their present moral condition and their European governors; and I think it highly important that such distinctions should not be neglected in constructing institutions for our Eastern possessions.

"I would not, for example, trust a native with power over his countrymen in any case in which

pecuniary considerations do not prevent the employment of a European. Their general contempt for the rights of inferiors, and the abominable spirit of caste, render them very unsafe depositories of such a trust."

I am still of the same opinion with regard to natives into whose minds none but the Oriental notions of morality have been instilled from their earliest youth. I quite agree with Sir Charles Trevelyan, who says, "The native functionaries have acquitted themselves extremely well, considering the corrupt school to which most of them belonged and the suddenness with which they were called to the performance of new and important duties; but enough instances of delinquency have occurred to prove that the country will not reap the full benefit of the change that has been made, until we not only open preferment to the natives, but also furnish them with the means by which they may merit that preferment and learn how to use it; until we not only give them power, but also secure, by a previous training, the existence of those qualities with the aid of which alone power can be beneficially exercised.

"The necessity of the case obliged us to begin at the wrong end, and we cannot too soon supply the deficiency."

Since Sir Charles Trevelyan wrote this in 1838, we have done a good deal to supply the deficiency. But we have not, I think, shewn, in as marked a manner as we ought to have done, the preference due to natives who have received a European education. Lord Hardinge's resolution of the 10th of

October, 1844, has not, as far as I can learn, been consistently and zealously acted upon. Something like a cry of monopoly has been raised on the subject, as if that odious name could be justly applied to a plan which merely proposes, in the selection of persons for official employment, to give a preference to those who are best qualified. Must we have some judges ignorant of jurisprudence, and some surgeons ignorant of anatomy, in order to escape the imputation of creating a monopoly in favour of the men who have mastered these sciences? No one will say so. If, then, European training is necessary to qualify a native for the just exercise of power over his fellow-men, a native who has had that training ought always, other things being equal, to be preferred.

I have said nothing yet upon the disputed question of religious instruction in the government colleges. My own opinion is, that a government of Christians, undertaking to rule a multitude of nations professing the Hindoo, Boodhist, and Mahommedan creeds, is strictly bound, as between its subjects and itself, not to assume the truth or falsehood of any religion. I can find, after much reflection, no other principle fit to be consistently acted upon throughout. Acting upon this principle the government can recognise, as legitimate enterprises, attempts to convert any of its subjects from one faith to another, when carried on by missionaries having themselves no connection with the state. But it cannot teach Christianity in its own colleges, as part of its general system of imperial education. If it should be said, that the

missionary interest do not ask the government to permit the truth of Christianity to be assumed, but only to be proved, in its colleges; the answer is, that government could not permit one of its own lecturers to prove the truth of Christianity, without assuming itself the truth of the thing to be proved. No one will contend that government should set up a chair of Mahommedan theology in the Hindoo College; yet, if it should set up there a chair of Christian theology, the desired distinction could only be drawn by assuming the truth of the Gospel, and the falsehood of the Koran.

But though we cannot, as a government, teach Christian theology, we can, and we do, teach a literature imbued with Christian morality. And, in this, the natives of India have a great advantage over us Europeans when we were emerging from semi-barbarism. They have Englishmen of the nineteenth century for their instructors, and English classics for their text-books. The store of wise and great thoughts which we derived from Greece and Rome was, indeed, rich and copious; but our Asiatic fellow-subjects get from us that same store, refined, elevated, and enlarged by the inventive genius of our race and the purifying influences of our national religion. It is a curious paradox that, setting aside the ceremonies of religion, and setting aside direct theological teaching, the public instruction, which touches the heart and moulds the character of the Christian youth of England, is heathen; while the public instruction, which performs these scarcely less than sacred offices for the heathen youth of India, is Christian.

As regards the affairs of this world only, it is not quite clear that a studious youth at the Hindoo College, whose mind has been for many years occupied with thoughts derived from Shakspeare, Milton, Bacon, Adam Smith, Arnold, may not have in him more of the moral spirit of Christianity, than a young Englishman at Oxford, whose habitual reflections are suggested by Homer, Thucydides, Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Tacitus.

Mr. Foster, in his Essay on the Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion, speaks thus of the Iliad: "If such works do really impart their own genuine spirit to the mind of an admiring reader, in proportion to the degree in which he admires, and if this spirit is totally hostile to that of Christianity, and if Christianity ought really and in good faith to be the supreme regent of all moral feeling, then it is evident that the Iliad, and all books which combine the same tendency with great poetical excellence, are among the most mischievous things on earth. There is but little satisfaction, certainly, in illustrating the operation of evils without proposing any adequate method of contending with them. But, in the present case, I really do not see what a serious observer of the character of mankind can offer. To wish that the works of Homer and some other great authors of antiquity should cease to be read, is just as vain as to wish that they had never been written."

The moralist, we see, only checks his rising wish that Homer should cease to be read, from a con-

viction that such a wish would be vain. Without inquiring how far Mr. Foster may be right, it is sufficient for the present purpose to remark that no such wish could spring up, in the mind of any reasonable being, regarding the book which, in our Indian system of public instruction, occupies the place assigned to the Iliad in England. The stern moralist and pious Christian, Dr. Johnson, who had as strong a prejudice against Milton as one lofty mind can well feel towards another, yet speaks thus of him in connection with his immortal poem: "In this book, 'The reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy,' he discovers, not with ostentatious exultation, but with calm confidence, his high opinion of his own powers, and promises to undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of use and honour to his country. 'This,' says he, 'is not to be obtained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit that can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases. To this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, and insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed, I refuse not to sustain this expectation.' From a promise like this, at once fervid, pious, and rational, might be expected the Paradise Lost."

The difference between the Iliad and the Paradise Lost, in respect to the moral effect resulting from long and assiduous contemplation of them by

a young and plastic mind, may be taken as a type of the difference between classical literature and English literature generally.

What we are teaching, then, in our Indian colleges, what we shall teach with much more effect when, by the institution of Universities, the appropriate distinctions of learning are added to the stimulants now in existence, is fitted to make the rising generation of India what they should be in all the relations of life, public and private. And it is only such men that I desire to see gradually advanced to the higher offices in their own country. It is no wish of mine, however, to direct the ambition of the natives solely to official distinction; but you cannot exclude men from administering the affairs of their country without stigmatising and discouraging them. It has been seen that, in addressing these students eight years ago, I said to them, "Do not imagine that the sole or the main use of a liberal education is to fit yourselves for the public service; or, rather, do not imagine that the public can only be served by the performance of duties in the offices of government." I am quite ready to repeat that admonition. I strongly desire to see the native youth distinguish themselves in all honourable ways: but I more strongly desire that our colleges should send forth zemindars capable of improving their own estates and the condition of their ryots; natural philosophers capable of collecting and utilising the vast store of undiscovered facts contained in the soil, climate, and productions of their country; moral philosophers capable of studying the peculiarities

of the Indian races, and of directing them, by eloquent exhortation, to virtue and happiness; than that these colleges should be nurseries of eminent judges and collectors.

That our colleges are now nurseries of men intellectually fit for all these functions, I am confident, from my own personal experience as President of the Council of Education. That they are gradually becoming nurseries of men morally fit, I am persuaded, by the reflection that, where large numbers are concerned, intellectual improvement of the best kind brings with it a corresponding moral improvement. It has been so in Europe. In the middle ages there were fully as much perjury and bribery, fraud and violence, tyranny and oppression, in the nations now at the head of civilisation, as there are at this moment in India. Education has produced the change here, and will produce it there; but, from the difference of circumstances, with incomparably greater rapidity. There is good evidence, moreover, that this moral improvement is already discernible. Mr. Kerr, Principal of the Hooghly College, says, in his lately published Review of Public Instruction in Bengal: —

"It may be asked, Are the educated natives more likely to prove 'honest men,' and consequently more useful servants of the state, than the rest of their countrymen? I believe they are. The universal impression among themselves is, that they are; and of this distinction they are not a little proud. At our colleges and schools they acquire, to some extent, the habit of truthfulness. English principles are to a certain extent engrafted in their

hearts. They acquire, also, a taste for what is true and beautiful in speculation, which, so far as it goes, is favourable to upright and honourable conduct. It may also be observed, that it is becoming a point of honour, with those natives who have received a good education, to be more truthful and trustworthy than the uneducated classes. It would give them more pain to be detected in a falsehood or in any dishonest practice. A public feeling favourable to integrity is growing up among them. As yet the feeling may not be strong; but, even in its feeble state, it must be regarded as a good sign, and as one of the noblest fruits of the education they are receiving." P. 195.

This is testimony of very high value: for Mr. Kerr has had ample experience as principal of both the Hindoo College and the Hooghly College, and he is a very impartial witness, as any one may see who chooses to read his book.

Sir Erskine Perry has just returned from Bombay, where he has presided for many years over the education of the natives. On my mentioning to him the above-cited passage from Mr. Kerr's book, he assured me that it entirely accords with his own experience at Bombay. He says, indeed, that he has no hesitation in giving still stronger evidence as to the moral improvement of the natives resulting from a good English education.

Mr. Halliday, one of the secretaries to the government of India, lately arrived from Calcutta, has given me similar assurances.

Before I conclude this address, I must say something upon a question of subordinate importance to the general one of admitting natives

to the higher offices in India. I mean the question whether, assuming that covenanted services are to be continued, from which all uncovenanted Europeans are to be excluded, the natives should be admitted into those covenanted services; or, continuing excluded from them, should be admitted to the offices now set apart as the portion of these privileged services.

With regard to natives educated in our Indian colleges, I see no objection to the latter course. But, with regard to such natives as have sufficient means and sufficient enterprise to seek education in England, it appeared to Sir Edward Ryan and myself, that they might very properly be appointed to the covenanted services; and, accordingly, when a proper occasion presented itself, we took the liberty of addressing the Court of Directors on the subject. The nature of the occasion, and the reasons on which our opinion is founded, will sufficiently appear from our letter to the Court, which I transcribe entire.

"TO THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

"Honourable Sirs,

"We have the honour very respectfully to request, that your Honourable Court will take whatever steps may be necessary for appointing Dr. S. C. G. Chuckerbutty an assistant surgeon on your Bengal establishment. But before we urge the reasons which appear to us to make this appointment desirable, it is right that we should explain to you why we put ourselves forward upon this occasion,

and why we address ourselves to your Honourable Court collectively, instead of to some one individual of your number, whom we might suppose to be favourable to our views.

" Both of us, during the latter years of our residence in India, were honoured by your supreme government there with the appointment of President of the Committee of Public Instruction, or Council of Education, as it has been latterly termed, and with the presidency of your Medical College of Calcutta. The deep interest, therefore, which both of us feel in all that concerns the education and general advancement of the Asiatic races whom Her Majesty and Parliament have committed to your government, has, we trust, enough of official sanction to prevent the present manifestation of it from appearing an unwarrantable intrusion. And we make our request to your Honourable Court collectively, because the question of conceding for the first time to a native of India an appointment in one of your covenanted services, appears to us one of such importance, as to be more fitly determinable by the deliberation of your whole body, than by that individual discretion to which the selection of persons for those services is in ordinary circumstances intrusted.

" In requesting you to appoint Dr. Chuckerbutty an assistant surgeon on your Bengal establishment, we appear to ourselves to do no more than bring to your special notice a case which affords a most unexceptionable opportunity of carrying into effect the intentions of the Legislature, as expressed in the present Charter Act, 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 85. s. 87.

" That statute holds out to the natives of India the promise of admission to the covenanted services of the East India Company, by providing ' That no native of the said ' territories, nor any natural-born subject of Her Majesty ' resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, ' place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be dis- ' abled from holding any place, office, or employment

'under the said Company.' The present Charter Act has now been in force for sixteen years, or four fifths of its whole term, and no single native of India has ever been appointed to any of the covenanted services; the consequence is, that the promise of the Charter Act is regarded by the natives of India as a mockery.

"It was not so intended by those who framed the Act; and we believe that many of those in whom the nomination to these services is vested would be glad to show to the world, that it is their wish to carry the Act into effect according to the real intentions of the framers.

"We do not doubt that such also is the wish of your Honourable Court. But opportunities of fulfilling the intentions of the Legislature in this particular are, from the nature of the case, of rare occurrence. There is never any want of European candidates for your covenanted services, against whose nomination no objection can be urged, while it is always possible to urge plausible objections against the appointment of any native to any office from which his countrymen have hitherto been excluded.

"A nation of Europe which undertakes to govern justly, and in the interests of the governed, a hundred millions of Asiatic people, undertakes a task of the highest and most sacred kind, but a task which is beset on all sides with difficulties and even with dangers.

"There may be some risk to our dominion in admitting natives to the offices heretofore held exclusively by Europeans; but that there is much greater risk in continuing to exclude them, we think we could prove from history and from the principles of human nature, if such proof were necessary to our purpose. The Legislature, however, has settled this question. It has declared that natives shall be admissible to all offices in India, leaving to you to bring about the transition from exclusion to participation in the best manner for all the great interests concerned.

"The Legislature has left to you to select the individuals

who shall be admitted to this new and great privilege, to determine the number who shall be admitted to it in any given period, and the conditions on which they shall be admitted, and to select from all the offices thus thrown open in point of law to the natives of India those to which they may, at the beginning of this new era, be appointed with the smallest degree of that inconvenience which inevitably accompanies all great political changes, however beneficial or even necessary they may have become.

"The discretion thus left to you is of a most ample and indefinite character, large enough perhaps to enable you (if it were possible to imagine you so inclined) to defeat the whole object of the Legislature, without actual violation of the letter of the law.

"But it must be remembered that a law, such as that which is here laid down for your guidance, is very different from that class of laws which is armed with a penal sanction. In that class of laws the Legislature addresses itself to persons assumed to be disposed to violate its commands, and denounces punishment for the purpose of preventing such violation. In the provision above quoted from the Charter Act, Parliament, at the very moment of intrusting to you for twenty years the government of the greatest dependent empire which the world has ever seen, lays down for your guidance the great principle that the natives of that empire are for the future to be admissible to all offices within it, as a means of securing the permanent allegiance of the Indian races and of making the bond which unites them to us increase in strength as they themselves increase in knowledge and civilization. But Parliament having once laid down this great principle, leaves everything else to you. No native of India, however manifestly fit for your service, can bring an action to prevent his exclusion from it by reason solely of his colour. No friend of the natives of India can obtain a mandamus for such a purpose. The Legislature has simply expressed its wishes, and trusts for the accomplish-

ment of them to that zeal for the advancement of the Asiatic races which you have conspicuously displayed in the liberal education given at your colleges and in the great number of native Indians whom your governments have appointed to lucrative and responsible offices in the uncovenanted services.

" We are not, then, going beyond what is warranted by your position as the enlightened rulers of our eastern empire on the one hand, and as the faithful and willing subjects of the Queen and Parliament on the other, when we assume, that if we can lay before you a case for the admission of a native to one of your covenanted services, to which no objection can be made of a stronger kind than the objection which may be made to the admission of any native to any of those offices from which they have been heretofore excluded, we shall find you not only willing but anxious to carry into effect the intentions of Parliament.

" We think we can convince you that Dr. Chuckerbutty's is such a case.

" His own qualifications for your medical service are sufficiently proved by his printed testimonials; and indeed we are not under the necessity of using any argument or exhortation on this part of the case, because we have been informed by Dr. Chuckerbutty, that your Honourable Court have already recognised his professional and personal merits in as cordial a manner as might be expected from your position as the patrons and protectors of the Asiatic subjects of the British Crown.

" He possesses, however, one qualification (and he owes the possession of it in a great measure to your bounty) which appears to us so important, with reference to the general question of admitting natives to the covenanted services, that we cannot pass it over in silence.

" The entrance to the medical service is not like that to the civil and military services, generally closed against all who have not been educated at Haileybury or at Addiscombe. Even if Dr. Chuckerbutty had never been

out of Calcutta, he would have been qualified for your medical service, if he had there acquired that amount of professional knowledge and that reputation for general good conduct which now distinguish him.

"But we acknowledge that, however anxious we might have been to see him placed, in point of rank, honour, and social position, upon a footing with your European medical officers, we should not have desired to see him receiving pecuniary emolument equal to theirs, if he had not earned his testimonials by residence and study in Europe.

"A native of India ought to be allowed to compete with Europeans for any office in India from which political considerations do not exclude him, and ought, when appointed, to be put upon an equal footing with a European holding a similar office.

"But then an important question arises, as to what really is equality under such circumstances.

"The true principle, we think, is that a native gentleman in public employment at Calcutta should be paid, not as an English gentleman would be paid for executing the same office at Calcutta, but as an English gentleman would be paid for executing the same office in London.

"The English gentleman at Calcutta has to toil in a climate extremely oppressive to his spirits, and unfavourable to his health. He has to pass the best years of his life at a distance from his home, his friends, and relations; and is almost certain to be obliged to retire from the service at a much earlier age than would be necessary if he were discharging public functions in his own country.

"It appears to us, then, that equality of pay for equal services to Europeans and natives generally is nominal equality and real inequality. And it is clearly for the interest of the native community itself that this real inequality should not exist; for, first, the native community is wronged when any functionary paid out of the resources of India is overpaid; and secondly, the fact that native agency can be equitably remunerated by a smaller amount

of salary than European agency, is a strong reason for preferring a native, except in so far as such preference may interfere with the higher considerations which we must now advert to.

"The permanent connection of England and India we consider an object of the last importance to both countries, and it is obviously desirable, with a view to that connection, that English gentlemen should be sent out to perform public duties in India, even though such agency must always be considerably more expensive than the employment of natives educated in their own country. Now it appears to us clearly desirable, in the same manner and for the same great end, that young native gentlemen should come over to be educated in England.

"If that be so, then, considering all the difficulties and prejudices which they have to overcome for that purpose, it is expedient that higher emoluments should be offered to them than are obtainable by such of their countrymen as have not ventured to seek an English education in England, just as it is expedient that higher emoluments should be offered to induce young English gentlemen to devote themselves to the service of India.

"In this manner it seems to us, that out of the peculiar relation in which England and India stand to each other, there arises a sound rule for the guidance of that discretion with which Parliament has invested you, upon occasion of declaring the natives of India eligible to all those offices in their own country from which they have hitherto been excluded. A rule restricting the number of natives to be admitted under the 87th section of the Charter Act, within limits, at first extremely narrow, but gradually expanding with the gradual advances of the natives in knowledge and civilisation, is in itself so desirable, that you would have been justified in laying one down arbitrarily. But here a rule of the very sort which is desirable for regulating the transition from the old to the new system presents itself, springing naturally out of the principles of

distributive justice, as applied to European and native functionaries in India.

"It certainly cannot be said that the rule thus presenting itself would err in the way of too great laxity. For under it the present candidate would probably be the sole instance of a native admitted (supposing that you do admit him) to the benefit of the 87th section of the Charter Act during the whole twenty years for which that Act confers the government of India upon you.

"We proceed to remark upon the nature of the service into which Dr. Chuckerbutty aspires to be admitted.

"The three services to which natives are made eligible by the 87th section of the Charter Act are the military, the civil, and the medical.

"If we were asking that a native Indian should be appointed to a cadetship, we think it might reasonably be said that such a nomination would not be the most prudent commencement of the new system, and therefore not a sound exercise of the discretion which Parliament has left to you in carrying into effect its benevolent intentions. We do not doubt that a time is fast approaching when, by the general diffusion of that liberal education which you are giving to the people of India, the advantages of your government over any that could be expected from the sway of any Asiatic prince will be so fully appreciated by the Indian nations, that it will be perfectly safe and very beneficial to place your native troops under the command of native officers. But that education in the diffusion of which we were proud of being your instruments, has not yet had time to produce its effects through the lettered class upon the masses of the people. The benefits of a strong, just, and regular government, which takes no more from the people than the law declares to be due as revenue, which suffers no one else to take anything, and which pays its servants every month, are indeed felt by all those who occupy themselves in seeking an honest livelihood and, by all those who receive your pay.

"Your sepoys and their native officers belong to both these classes.

"Still there will be danger from the personal ambition of native military commanders, until the formation of an enlightened public opinion shall so secure the permanent attachment of the Indian races to Great Britain as to render hopeless all schemes of military revolt.

"The civil service and the medical service then appear to us to be the proper fields for first bringing into practical operation the principle laid down by Parliament.

"We do not say that no plausible objections can be raised against nominating a native civil servant, or a native assistant surgeon; we say only, first, that all such objections are far outweighed by the advantages of showing to the people of India that a career of profitable and honourable service is open to them, such as they could never hope to enter upon under any government but that of Great Britain. And, secondly, that all such objections, though they might fairly have been stated to Parliament when the matter was under consideration there, are now shut out by the deliberate decision of the Legislature, and the solemn proclamation of it to the people of India in the form of a statute.

"This is more emphatically true of the medical service than of the civil service.

"The civil servants exercise political power. They are the subordinate governors of the country, and they receive the education of public men. The medical servants exercise no political power, and receive a purely scientific education. The profession they follow is essentially a private profession. All governments, it is true, secure medical attendance to their armies and navies, and your government secures them to the civil functionaries. In this way medical men become in one sense public men, military men, and naval men; but the profession they exercise remains essentially, as we have said, a private profession.

"We have accordingly found, in discussing the merits of the present question in private, that the persons whose opinions we most esteem have at once admitted both that Dr. Chuckerbutty is an eminently fit person for becoming the first native covenanted servant of the East India Company, and that the office of assistant surgeon is, of all those which the Charter Act throws open to natives, the one which ought to be selected for the commencement of the new system which is to prove to the inhabitants of British India that they are really British subjects.

"We have found also that those who take an opposite view, admit nevertheless that the appointment of native assistant surgeons would be in itself quite free from danger. But they suppose that the spectacle of such appointments might have an unsafe effect upon the native officers of the army.

"The native officers, they say, who are now content with their position, would cease to be so if they saw one of their own countrymen holding the military rank and station of an assistant surgeon, though no such effect would have place in their minds from the spectacle of a native judge or collector exercising the supreme civil authority of the district.

"This argument, limited in this arbitrary manner to the effect of admitting natives to the medical service, appears to us to have no weight whatever. If it had not been thus limited, but had been founded generally upon the effect which the breaking down of the existing barrier between natives and Europeans might have upon the native officers of the army, so long as the barrier continues practically insuperable to them, we should have admitted that the objection is a real one, but should have contended that it is far outweighed by considerations on the opposite side, and that it is no longer capable of being maintained *bonâ fide* by any one not seeking to defeat the intentions of the Legislature.

"It is indeed obvious, that if natives cannot begin to be

admitted to your covenanted service in the military line by reason of its own nature, and cannot begin to be admitted in the civil or medical lines for fear of creating discontent among the native military officers, they never can begin to be admitted at all.

"There were not wanting alarmists who predicted mischief from that just and liberal policy of admitting natives unsparingly to the uncovenanted offices which has been long since adopted by your governments and sanctioned by yourselves. Nor do we deny that those alarmists had plausible and even reasonable grounds to allege for their opinion; but the reasons alleged on the other side appear to us of far greater weight, and ample experience has now decided in their favour.

"The opening of the covenanted services to the natives by statute is only a following up of that system which you and your governments in the East had already adopted of your own accord. The same just and benevolent regard for the natives of India which led you spontaneously to that enlightened policy, will surely now lead you to carry into effect the similar policy enjoined by Parliament, and to take care that the promises solemnly made by the British Legislature to the subject nations of Asia shall not be the only inoperative provisions of the Charter which has committed those nations to your government.

"We have the honour to be,
Honourable Sirs,
Your most obedient humble servants,
EDWARD RYAN.
CHARLES HAY CAMERON.

"Garden Lodge, Kensington,
31st January, 1850."

The answer we received was as follows: —

"East India House, 2d March 1850.

"Gentlemen,

"I am commanded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 31st January last, and to acquaint you, that the Court have observed with interest and much gratification the conduct and career of Dr. Chuckerbutty during his residence in this country; and that, fully sensible of his merits, they have already given instructions to the Government of India in view to his being placed in the position best suited to his qualifications, and most consistent with the object for which he has been educated in England at the public expense.

"I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient humble servant,
JAMES C. MELVILL.

"The Right Hon. Sir Edward Ryan
and
C. H. Cameron, Esq."

This is an answer which, half a century ago, would have been reputed a wise one. I doubt if it will now be thought so. We are in the thirty-eighth year of peace. That long peace, among its other advantages, has made the nation inquisitive, and the government communicative. No British statesman now thinks it dignified to wrap himself up in official silence. He rather courts opportunities of explaining his views and his motives. Even the ancient corporation of English lawyers no longer pretend that their art is a mystery which the profane vulgar must not hope to penetrate. They acknowledge themselves amenable to

the great lay tribunal of the public. The Chancery Commission contains, and rejoices to contain, two members who are not Chancery lawyers, nor lawyers of any kind. Can the East India Company reasonably hope to exclude the Asiatic subjects of the Queen from all the higher offices of their native country, without submitting the reasons by which they hold themselves justified to the criticism of the world, and without declaring whether they intend the line now drawn to be permanent, or only provisional?

It may be said that they were not bound to explain themselves to Sir Edward Ryan and myself. Certainly they were not. But if they had felt that they had just reasons for making the present line of exclusion a permanent one, they would naturally have been glad to seize the opportunity of stating those reasons, which they surely might have done without anything like humiliation.

Their position is, in one respect, unfortunate. They have one powerful motive for persisting in that course which, to judge from external appearances, they seem to have adopted, which will not bear the light. If any of the covenanted offices of India are to be given to natives, the patronage of the Directors must so far cease to have that kind of value for which patronage is usually desired. When I say that this motive will not bear the light, I mean only that it will not bear the light considered as antagonistic to the duty of governing India in the interest of the people of India. Considered in itself, it is far from being a flagitious, though it is a selfish motive.

The distribution of the higher offices of India among such of their own friends and relations as are fit for them, is not, in my judgment, a proceeding which would merit any censure, if it did not necessarily operate to the exclusion of the natives from those offices. So far from it, that, if the diminution of the patronage were alleged as a ground of compensation, I should range myself on the side of those who might support such a claim. But if this patronage is to prevent Great Britain from doing what is just by her Asiatic subjects, it is a thing to be unhesitatingly sacrificed.

Now this patronage, if it is to be preserved entire, does, I am afraid, prevent Great Britain from doing what is just by her Asiatic subjects; and that, not only by excluding them from offices to which a paternal government would surely admit them, — to which, I doubt not, that the unperverted philanthropy of the Court of Directors would admit them; but, also (and this is, in my mind, a much higher consideration), by throwing an impediment in the way of their receiving that sort of education which would make their claim to the covenanted offices appear, in the eyes of the world, irresistible.

It must be remembered, however, that the Court of Directors is a numerous and a fluctuating body. The majority of it may possibly be of a different opinion now from what it was in March, 1850. Even at that time, I have some reason to suppose that a considerable minority was in favour of granting the request prefered by Sir Edward Ryan and

myself. I am sure, from my own knowledge, that there are men among the Directors who feel that they hold their patronage as a trust for the benefit of the Indian nations. And I know, from Sir Edward Ryan, that we could have obtained from more than one quarter the appointment we desired for Dr. Chuckerbutty, had not a natural reluctance existed in those quarters to act in opposition to what was understood to be the opinion of the majority.

Sir Edward Ryan and I did not publish our letter or the answer of the Court; but we printed them, and communicated them to several of our acquaintance who take a deep interest in Indian questions. Among these was Lord Glenelg, whose interest in such questions, and whose generous and statesmanlike manner of contemplating them, have been so conspicuously exhibited within the last few days in the House of Lords. Lord Glenelg showed the letters to Mr. Mounstuart Elphinstone, who wrote some remarks upon the subject of them; and, feeling how great is the value of any thing coming from an Indian statesman of such high accomplishment and such long experience, I have solicited and obtained his permission to insert them in this address. Mr. Elphinstone requested me, at the same time, to make known that, when he wrote these remarks, that is, in 1850, the changes in Indian administration which have taken place since the Act of 1833, and which render the plan he suggests, of intrusting districts to the most trustworthy persons to be found among the natives, inapplicable to present circumstances, were not known to the public in this country.

"It is impossible to deny," Mr. Elphinstone says, "the importance and urgency of the question relating to the employment of the natives, and it is very satisfactory to see it taken up by men of such eminence as the writers of the letter to the Court of Directors; but with the highest deference to the opinion of those gentlemen, I cannot but doubt whether the mode in which they propose to introduce the natives into stations of trust, is the best adapted to the end which all enlightened friends to the British interests in India must have in view.

"If the case of Dr. Chuckerbutty stood alone, there could be but one opinion as to the decision which ought to be passed on it; but the appointment of a single individual at a time when the Company's Charter is drawing to a close, could produce no favourable effect on the minds of the natives, unless it was looked on as an announcement that the covenanted service was henceforward to be thrown open to their countrymen, and this is the view in which it appears to be regarded in the letter to the Court of Directors.

"The point in which I venture to differ from the view there taken is, that I conceive it to be more expedient to admit the natives indiscriminately to the offices now held by covenanted servants, than to introduce them into a privileged class, from which all the principal officers of the government are still to be selected. Such a restriction on the choice of government is at all times an evil; it is necessary in the case of European servants, because it would be impossible to induce suitable persons to enter on a course of education appropriate to India, without giving them some such security for their advancement in the service to which they had devoted themselves; but no such objection exists in the case of natives, and it seems desirable that, in their case, a larger field should be opened to the resources of the government, and to the ambition of individuals.

"In considering the three classes of covenanted servants,

it is unnecessary to discuss that of military officers. There are so many objections to the introduction of natives into this class, on grounds both of general policy and internal detail, that it may be assumed to form no part of the present question.

"With regard to the medical branch, there appears to be no reason why properly qualified natives should not at once be appointed to many of the situations now held by covenanted servants.

"There remains the most important class of all, that of the civil servants. There seem to be strong objections to appointing the natives to the regular service in this department. The inferiority of their moral qualities (which, after all, must be confessed), and the mere prejudice against their colour and race, would tend to impair the character of the service, and to discourage the better sort of Europeans from placing their sons in it, so that it would ere long be composed of persons unfit to be trusted with the high functions belonging to its members. It would be better to leave the present service as it stands, only reducing its numbers in proportion to the increase of employment of natives in civil offices. The plan I should suggest would be, to intrust a very few of the districts now held by covenanted judges and collectors to the most trustworthy persons to be found among the natives, announcing, at the same time, that no such appointments would take place after a stated number of years, unless the candidate could pass through an examination in such branches of knowledge as might be declared requisite for the due performance of his duties. The nomination of natives to districts in the old provinces, should at first be very sparing, to prevent a relaxation in the regularity and discipline now established; but greater latitude might be allowed in new acquisitions, where a system more suited to native habits might be adopted, without sacrificing the essential qualities of a good administration. There would be a good deal of inferiority in regularity, and some even in efficiency,

under such a system; but this, it is to be hoped, might be removed in time, and the present disadvantages would be amply compensated by the opportunity it would afford of bringing forth native talent.

"The ultimate object ought to be, to throw the whole civil administration into the hands of natives, leaving the entire superintendance and control to Europeans; and this, with the political and military duties, should be the portion of that branch of the population of India. I am fully aware of the difficulties and dangers attending the progress of such a change, arising in a great measure from the impatience and misconduct of the natives themselves; of the slow degrees by which it must be carried into effect; and, likewise, of the chance that the new system, when fully established, may fall short in many respects of that now in existence: but such a change is inevitable, and it is highly important that it should be speedily commenced on, and should have made a considerable advance before the government shall be hurried and embarrassed by a rising clamour among its native subjects.

"I say that such a change is inevitable, because I conceive that the administration of all the departments of a great country by a small number of foreign visitors, in a state of isolation produced by a difference in religion, ideas, and manners, which cuts them off from all intimate communion with the people, can never be contemplated as a permanent state of things. I conceive, also, that the progress of education among the natives renders such a scheme impracticable, even if it were otherwise free from objection. It might, perhaps, have once been possible to have retained the natives in a subordinate condition (at the expense of national justice and honour), by studiously repressing their spirit and discouraging their progress in knowledge; but we are now doing our best to raise them in all mental qualities to a level with ourselves, and to instil into them the liberal opinions in government and policy which have long prevailed in this country; and it

is vain to endeavour to rule them on principles only suited to a slavish and ignorant population."

I hesitate when I venture to differ from Mr. Elphinstone; yet I still continue, and so does Sir Edward Ryan, to think it desirable that some natives of India should complete their education in this country; and that admission to the covenanted services, with the degree of security for advancement which belongs to those services, is not too costly a method of inducing them to overcome their prejudices and to incur the necessary trouble and expense. But this, as I have said, is a question of minor importance.

What I am asking is, the establishment of Universities in India, with a declaration that the natives honoured with their degrees will be admitted to offices from which natives are now practically excluded. Happily, in this I am asking no more than what is in strict accordance with the intentions of the government which proposed the Act of 1833, and of the Parliament which passed it.

A statesman, equally distinguished for high principle and deliberate wisdom, I mean Lord Lansdowne, was an eminent member of the Cabinet of that day, and is an eminent member of the present Cabinet. He is reported to have said in the House of Lords, —

"Their Lordships would be remiss in the performance of the high duties which devolved upon them, if they did not secure to the numerous natives of Hindustan the ample development of all their mental endowments and moral qualifications. It was a part of the new system which he had to propose to their Lordships, that, to every office in

India, every native, of whatsoever caste, sect, or religion, should be equally admissible, and he hoped that Government would seriously endeavour to give the fullest effect to this arrangement, which would be as beneficial to the people themselves as it would be advantageous to the economical reforms now in progress in different parts of India."

This is a speech which I should be glad to see engraved on tablets of brass at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Agra, as the speech of the Emperor Claudius was engraved at Lugdunum.

THE END.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

00109992

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 27 November, 2018